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Lib State Historical Soc X

WAGES, MARRIAGE AND THE CHURCH

A DISCUSSION INITIATED BY JAMES CONNOLLY, AND ANSWERED BY THE EDITOR OF THE PEOPLE.

THERE is a tale told of an inmate of a lunatic asylum who was asked by a visitor to the institution how he came to be there. "Well," he replied, "I thought the people outside were mad, and they thought I was mad. They were in the majority, and, here I am." This tale often occurs to my mind when I run up against things in our movement contrary to my own views of Socialism and the essentials of Socialist propaganda. I find myself in complete accord with the S. L. P. (of which I am proud to be a member) on all questions of policy and of discipline and of revolutionary procedure. When it comes down to holding our position as against an opponent, no matter how well equipped, I am not aware of any case in any country in which the comrades found fault with my defence or attack, or my exposition of our principles. And yet I have found in the party speakers and writers, and comrades who professed to be neither, who held and gave expression to views on policy, and conceptions of Socialism with which I would not for a moment agree. And the thought occurs to me: Which of us is mad? To settle this question, I am here setting down some of the points on which I find myself in disagreement with numbers of the comrades, and hope to see in the Weekly People—the only one of our organs available for me—an earnest discussion thereon.

Lately when reading the report of the meetings held by one of our organizers in the West, I discovered that in the course of a discussion with a spokesman of the Kangaroos, this comrade held that the workers could not even temporarily benefit by a rise in wages "as every rise in wages was offset by a rise in prices." When the Kangaroo quoted from Marx's "Value, Price and Profit," to prove the contrary, our S. L. P. man airly disposed of Marx by saying that Marx wrote in advance of, and without anticipation of, the present day combinations of capital. I am afraid that that S. L. P. speaker knew little of Marx except his name, or he could not have made such a remark. The theory that a rise in prices always destroys the value of a rise in wages sound very revolutionary, of course, but it is not true. And, furthermore, it is no part of our doctrine. If it were it knocks the feet from under the S. T. & L. A. and renders that body little else than a mere ward-heeling club for the S. L. P. I am prepared to defend this point if any one considers me wrong upon it. It was one of the points in dispute between my opponents at the Schenectady meeting and myself. Until the party is a unit upon such points our propaganda in one place will nullify our propaganda in another.

Again, when touring this country in 1902, I met in Indianapolis an esteemed comrade who almost lost his temper with me because I expressed my belief in monogamic marriage, and because I said, as I still hold, that the tendency of civilization is towards its perfection and completion, instead of towards its destruction. My comrade's views, especially since the publication in the People of Bebel's "Woman," are held by a very large number of members, but I hold, nevertheless, that they are wrong, and, furthermore, that such works and such publications are an excrescence upon the movement. The abolition of the capitalist system will, undoubtedly, solve the economic side of the Woman Question, but it will solve that alone. The question of marriage, of divorce, of paternity, of the equality of woman with man are physical and sexual questions, or questions of temperamental affiliation as in marriage, and were we living in a Socialist Republic would still be hotly contested as they are to-day. One great element of disagreement would be removed—the economic—but men and women would still be unfaithful to their vows, and questions of the intellectual equality of the sexes would still be as much in dispute as they are to-day, even although economic equality would be assured. To take a case in point: Suppose a man and woman married. The man after a few years ceases to love the woman, his wife, and loves another. But his wife's love for him has only increased with the passage of years, and she has borne him children. He wishes to leave her and consort with his new love. Will the fact that her economic future is secured be any solace to the deserted mother or to her children? Decidedly not! It is a human and sexual problem, not an economic problem at all. Unjust economic conditions aggravate the evil, but do not create it. Comrade De Leon says in his preface, which I have just seen, that Bebel's "Woman" raises up for the proletaire friends in the camp of the enemy. I consider that it is, on the contrary, an attempt to seduce the proletariat from the firm ground of political and economic science on to the questionable ground of physiology and sex. Instead of raising up friends in the camp of the enemy, it engenders the fatal habit of looking outside our own class for help to the members of a class—the "enemy" referred to—whose whole material interests are opposed to ours. In the days of battle will the claims of sex or the claims of their class weigh most with the ladies of the capitalist class? Bebel's "Woman" is popular because of its quasi-prurient revelations of the past and present degradation of womanhood, but I question if you can find in the whole world one woman who was led to Socialism by it, but you can find hundreds who were repelled from studying Socialism by judicious extracts from its pages. I believe it is destined to be in the future a potent weapon against us in this country. And it is a weapon put into the enemy's hands without obtaining any corresponding advantage for our side. The valuable propaganda material in the book is absolutely nullified by its identification with a debatable physiological question on which the party as a whole has never been consulted, and could not be.

The attitude of the party toward religion is another one on which I believe there is a tendency at present to stray from the correct path. Theoretically every S. L. P. man agrees that Socialism is a political and economic question, and has nothing to do with religion. But how many adhere to that position? Very few, indeed. It is scarcely possible to take up a copy of The Weekly People of late without realizing from its contents that it and the party are becoming distinctly anti-religious. If a clergyman anywhere attacks Socialism the tendency is to hit back, not at his economic absurdities, but at his theology, with which we have nothing to do. In other words, we occupy a strongly entrenched position based upon demonstrable facts. When a clergyman attacks this position our wisest course is to remain in our entrenchments and to allow him to waste his energy and demonstrate his ignorance by futile attacks upon our position. Instead of which, our comrades descend from their entrenchments and engage the enemy in combat over a question of the next world—a question that were we to argue for another century could not be proven or disproved on one side or the other. That is to say, we attack the enemy where he is strongest, and instead of relying upon appeals to the class interests of the workers we tangle their minds up in questions which even the trained intellect of scientists cannot solve. All of which must be very satisfactory to our enemies. The prominence given to the absurd article of M. Vandervelde illustrates this clearly. Mr. Vandervelde is a middle class doctrinaire, who, on every question of tactics, has proven himself unsafe as a guide. His performances as an upholder of Millerand ought to be well known to readers of The People, his botchy handling of the late Universal Strike in Belgium, when he and his party sacrificed the interests of hundreds of poor workingmen and their families in order to "teach a lesson" to the amused capitalist government, is also well known. His general Kangarooism is recognized by every thinking student of the European Socialist movement, but, lo! he speaks against the Catholic Church, and presto, he is become an oracle. But I refuse to worship at this Delphic shrine, and I laugh at the words of the oracle. Indeed, those words contain their own refutation. They are not a reasoned appeal to the working class, but an appeal to the free-thinkers to look to the Socialists to fight their battles for them. That is the tenor of the whole article. See how tenderly he speaks of the English Liberals. "Justice forbids, however, to reproach English Liberalism as a body with the reactionary complaisance of the right wing." We read how he approves of the sleek bourgeois governmental dodge to disorganize Socialist forces by the corruption of Millerand and Jaures. For the extract in The People omits a word, which I will put in brackets, and which, whether in the "Independent" or not, obviously from the context ought to have been there: "The Republican middle class and the radical Democracy do (not) hesitate to accept the help of the Social Democracy in the fight against the Catholic Church by enrolling Millerand in the Ministry and electing Jaures Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies." To this doctrinaire the great struggle of the working class for freedom is but a kind of side show, or, perhaps, an auxiliary, to the free-thinking movement. The betrayal of the workers by his kind in France is justifiable in the exigencies of the free-thought campaign. His statement that he does "not know and cannot conceive of a free-thinking workingman who is not at the same time a Socialist," only goes to show how little he knows about the working class. I am sure few readers of The People could echo his words. His whole soul is perturbed with the fear that when Socialism crushes out the free-thinking middle class, there will be nobody left to fight the Church unless Socialism kindly consents to become a catspaw for the propagandists of free-thought. How the capitalist editor of the English "Freethinker," or the stanch Republican soul of Bob Ingersoll would rejoice to see us linking the propaganda of our *knowledge* with that of their *speculations*. We have seen how the freethinking capitalist governments of France knew how to utilize an anti-clerical Dreyfus agitation to corrupt our movement, we see to-day how a similar freethinking administration in the same country initiates against religious orders a campaign which the Parti Ouvrier has seen fit to denounce as a mere bourgeois dodge to divert public attention from the social question, and if we but pause to think we will see in the anti-religious tone of our papers and speakers how the ground here is being unwittingly prepared for the same confusion and emasculation. I shall certainly do my share toward repelling every such tendency as strongly as I would fight to prevent the movement being identified even by implication with the tenets of the Catholic Church, or the Protestant, or the Shinto, or the Jew.

The S. L. P. is a political and economic party, seeking the conquest of public power in order to clear the way for the Social Revolution. Let it keep to that. It is a big enough proposition.

But I have said enough to arouse discussion, and will reserve further criticism to another time. I hold that mine is the correct S. L. P. doctrine. Now, will some one please tread on the tail of my coat? JAMES CONNOLLY.

Troy, N. Y., March 23.

[The flippancy of the last sentence is to be regretted, especially in view of the importance that our critic seems to attach to his private opinions in the premises, an importance that, in a way, they deserve seeing that in the course of the Socialist Movement they have before now periodically recurred, and, although uniformly rejected, present a recurring mental phenomenon that should be well understood, that has to be reckoned with, and that must be resisted if Socialism is to triumph. Comrade Connolly's coat-tails shall remain untouched. He will be met in front.

The three heads—Wages, Marriage

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CONGRESSIONAL

THE "DUTY" OF LABOR AND THE "RIGHTS" OF CAPITAL EXEMPLIFIED.

While Refusing to Raise the Salaries of Letter Carriers and Other Working Class Employes in the Post Office Department, the Capitalist Government Throws Away Millions Upon Millions Upon the Railroads

No Socialist will have any excuse during the pending Presidential campaign if his quiver is not full of arrows against capitalism. The only disadvantage the Socialist campaigner may labor under will be the disadvantage of a grateful heart. The facts he needs have all been supplied by the Republicans and Democrats themselves. These innocents in Congress have thought to batter each others' heads by adducing documentary facts and figures; in fact, however, they simply battered their own joint capitalist head. A case in point was the debate on the appropriations for the Post Office Department. From the documents submitted the following facts transpired:

The Government is now paying for 1,116 railway post-office cars. The appropriation made to meet this branch of the service is $5,736,000, which amounts to $5,140 for the annual use or rental of these cars. Stick a pin there.

Giving the claims of the railroad magnates on what these railway post-office cars cost them the full benefit of the doubt, a railway post-office car 60 feet long costs $6,000; a 50-foot car costs $5,500 and a 40-foot car costs $5,000. Stick a pin there. And now join the two sets of facts together.

It follows that the Government pays for the annual rental of a 40-foot car $140 more than the car costs; for a 50-foot car within $300 of its cost, and for a 60-foot car within $860 of its cost—in other words, the annual rental, paid by the Government on these cars for two years more than covers the cost of all by OVER $14,000!

There is one more fact to be considered on this head in order to make a proper estimate of the difference in the treatment that our joint Republican-Democratic capitalist Government bestows upon its capitalist class employers and its working class employes. The additional fact to be considered is this—the life of these railway post-office cars. As shown from the hearings taken by the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, and submitted to Congress, the life of a post-office railway car is from TEN TO TWENTY AND TWENTY-FIVE YEARS! It follows that, taking an average car life of twelve years, and assuming, again on the side favoring the railroads, that the appropriation for the rent of these cars remains at $5,736,000 a year and does not rise it follows that the railroads pocket during those twelve years MORE THAN $57,374,000—as what?

These figures are the smallest. A large number of items is here left out of consideration. If all were considered the figure would rise far above $57,374,000. It is large enough for all practical purposes. It is not a candle, it is a gigantic torch-light by which to read and understand the objection of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of both sides of the Chamber to raising the pittance now paid to the letter-carriers to the girls in the bagging department, in short, to all the real employes, the workingmen and women in the Department. The objection is that "THE REVENUES OF THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ADMIT" the paying of higher wages!

The joint head of the Republican-Democratic columns which uphold the capitalist system of delusion and deception, of plunder and false pretence, is powdered to a pulp by themselves. When the Post Office employes are worn out they are cast aside for "dead wood" with nothing to show for a life of toil; when the railway post-office cars are worn out, their capitalist owners have over $57,000,000 to show. Such is the difference between the "Duty" of Labor and the "Rights" of Capital.

BEBEL'S DRESDEN SPEECH

(Translated for The People by Gottfried Ollendorf.)

Marx says in his "Capital": "While a necessary phase of development cannot be overleaped, still its duration may be shortened." Oh, there is no greater practical politician than Marx, much misunderstood in our own ranks. A phase of development cannot be overleaped, but can be shortened.

Our whole activity has for its purpose to abbreviate the phases of development, in order to usher in the Socialistic community. (Vivid assent.) But the motto of the Revisionists is directly opposed to this: "Oh, don't hurry! don't push!"

This is not the exact language, but it is the sense of it: "The masses are not ripe as yet. How can you imagine that these masses are able to properly use the power of government if we attain it?"

To this reply: Don't bother your heads about these of others. What do you know about the intelligence which will be at our disposition when the masses are with us? ("Very good!") Look at all that our comrades have accomplished in the trade unions, in benefit societies, in the trade courts, in the Diets! Look at the work of the men in Parliament, not at that of the college-bred, but at that of those risen from the proletariat; in particular. the manner in which these men filled their position last spring and summer on the revenue-tax commission! I tell you honestly: Certainly I did expect that they would do their duty; but the magnificent manner in which they did do it filled me with admiration. ("Hear! hear!")

Go and ask the representatives of the Government and those of the bourgeois parties what a pitiable spectacle it was when, at the most, some individual interested in some particular proposition spoke from his own selfish, narrow standpoint, while on our side the Bauderts, the Zubeils, the Antricks, and whatever their names may be, revealed a thorough acquaintance with the subject, partly even with some of its most intricate points.

Take, for example, Antrick, who acted as referee in a series of the most difficult chemical questions in such a manner that the representatives of the Government regarded him in open-mouthed astonishment. What do you know, then, about the intelligence of the masses? Why! you have not even the first idea about it! ("Very good!")

Whenever a people has risen "en masse," the right men have ever appeared at the right hour. And if there ever was a great movement in the civilization of the world which has given birth to the right men, to the right women, it is the Social-democracy. (Stormy applause.)

If by some circumstance we could displace our opponents to-morrow and fill their seats ourselves, don't worry, we would know what we would have to do. (Marked assent.)

Oh. these petty points of view, this narrowness, this bashfulness, this eternal pacifying, temporizing, diplomatizing, compromising! (Great hilarity and applause.) Certainly, our revisionists possess all the political talent, the whole of diplomatic genius; their political talent is visible from the distance of a mile and the odor of their diplomatic genius smells for 300 feet. (Renewed great hilarity.)

I tell you, these sticklers for principles, these people who, to-day more than ever, represent the old, ideal, revolutionary standpoint of the Party, are no diplomats, no statesmen, and don't want to be—but I say to you: if it is evident that somebody is a "statesman," he is a statesman no longer. ("Very good!" and great hilarity.) If anybody causes it to be noticed, or even proclaims the fact that he is a diplomat, he ceases to be one. ("Quite right!")

To be brief, this is but the effort of approach towards the bourgeois society (marked assent), the blurring, the bridging, of the clashing issues between the proletariat and bourgeois society. That is the endeavor of the men in the Party who call themselves revisionists. (Marked assent.) It is ever and ever the same old battle—here to the left, there to the right and between the morass.

These are the elements which never know what they want, or rather, never say what they want. (Assent.) These are the wiseacres, in the first place, always eavesdropping: "How are things there, how are thing here?"—the men who always learn where the majority is, and then wend their way toward it. (Great assent.) This sort we, too, have in our Party. (Renewed assent.)

A whole number of them has come to the light of day in the course of these deliberations. These Party members must be denounced. (Calls: "Denounced?")

Yes, I say yes, denounced! so that the comrades will know what kind of half-way people they are. The man who openly contends for his point of view I know what to do with. I can battle with him. The victory is either his or mine; but the rotten elements, always moving in the dark, avoiding every clear decision, ever repeating, "Why, we are all united; we are all brothers," these are the worst all! (Great assent.) Against them my strongest efforts are directed. (Stormy applause.) But if there still would be a doubt in considering this question, if this view be correct, the expressions of the enemy would constitute my most complete justification. For me they are the best barometer. (Great assent.)

I ask: Has not the enemy flattered and praised in every form the revisionistic attitude? Has he not given it, as far as possible, moral support? The "Frankfurter Zeitung" has already been designated as an organ of the revisionists, so to say, and exactly the same could have been said of Nauman's "Hilfe."

As much as I differ with Herr Nauman, as much as I believe that he does not possess political foresight, as far as his tactics in opposition to us are concerned, as a rule he is very adroit. (Call: "Still, he has no success!")

Certainly he had no success. Do you think then, comrades, I believe that re-

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THE TROUBLE IN THE LITHO. INDUSTRY

PROGRESSIVE LITHO ALLIANCE, 17 c, S. T. & L. A.; ADDRESSES THE EMPLOYES ON THE ISSUES INVOLVED.

To the Lithographic Workmen:—It is needless to tell you that you are in the midst of a struggle. Thoroughly you have repudiated the slogan of the fellow who wishes to crawl and seeks an excuse by saying "workmen will not stick together." Almost to a man, without any definite order, you have surrendered your positions. That numerically you are strong none can deny. Yet, with that numerical strength, is there a corresponding clearness of aim? Have you sounded this struggle, or rather this spontaneous outburst of a continuous, existing, struggle to its very depth? Are you clear "whither are matters drifting?"

Before going any further let it be understood that the men who are responsible for this address do not claim to be prophets with superhuman foresight nor the sons of such prophets. However, when facts are given, a conclusion drawn and subsequent events prove that that conclusion previously drawn was correct, it is then time to drop all prejudice and listen, especially, as in this case, to listen is but to your material interest.

No modern industrially developed country can exist on its own markets. Every industrially developed country produces more than it consumes, and must, therefore, export the surplus. In recent years the United States has succeeded in passing all the European countries in the competitive struggle for foreign markets. The European countries once they recognized this fact, sent out industrial commissions to study up labor conditions in the United States. It is now about two years ago that an English labor commission visited your unions, "to study labor conditions in the lithographic industry of the United States."

The prejudiced workman who has listened patiently till now will cry out and demand in the name of (his) "common sense," what has lithography to do with foreign markets? and with puffed up chest will proclaim that the English labor commission has simply visited the lithographic unions the same as it did other unions, viz., out of sympathy and friendship. In his prejudiced state of mind he imagines the industry of lithography a second Chinese Empire, with high walls around it, that excludes the reaction of American competition.

Seclusion proved an impossibility for the Chinese. Seclusion for the lithographic or any other industry never existed, never can exist. Closely interwoven into and inseparable from world competition is the welfare of the domestic lithographer; consequently so also is the welfare of the lithographic workmen with the welfare not only of the workmen of this country, but with the welfare of the workmen of the whole world. Open and hidden strife between employer and employee is not a singular condition existing only in the lithographic trade. This open and hidden strife is a general condition existing in every industry. Between the different employers as between the different nations, a fierce competition, a conflict exists.

Lithography has developed tremendously within recent years, 500 sheets a day is a very high estimate of a day's work of forty years ago. Ten years ago lithography had so developed that the steam press turned out five thousand sheets twice the size of the former sheets. According to a recent estimate, one multi-color press is as good as thirty-six of the presses that turned out five thousand sheets. The competition between both the nations and the bosses has been the impetus for development.

When the steam press was introduced the workingmen's condition deterioriated. This factor created the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, the printers' union. Opposing this printers' union then, was the individual and comparatively small employer. To this fact was due the L. I. P.'s success at the time.

Mutual interest between employer and employes spells peace. War being evident everywhere "mutual interest between employer and employe" becomes a fraud. Fraternity is proclaimed as the watchword of the unions that hold sway. In the last few months the foremen and those in charge were—secretly at first, openly afterward—told by the employer to keep their men conservative. There are but two sides to the story. One must be either for the boss or he must be for the workingmen. No man can serve two interests or two masters. The conservative is the fence-rider. Conservatism in the ranks of the workingmen spells insincerity, and treachery. Nevertheless, at present, the conservative rules the union. In choosing a foreman the employer does not choose the most able of the trade. Along with ability and far preferable to the employer is the man who is conservative. With the foremen and the conservative at the rudder of the union sincerity in an attempt to better the condition of the workingmen is out of question, fraternity a cruel farce.

So far three points have been stated. These three points will lead us to a conclusion. The first point was that a conflict for markets between all industrially developed countries exists. The nation that produces cheapest controls the markets of the world. The United States having outstripped all the European powers is the cheapest producing country. The future existence of the foreign countries demanded that they must produce cheaper. The labor commissions, having studied the labor conditions here, went back to their own country to install the same machine and the same systems in vogue in the United States in their own country. To enable this country to overcome the effects of this reaction, i. e., to produce cheaper, the condition of the working man must be changed by reducing his wages, increasing apprentices, etc. The workingman bears the brunt of the international conflict through the changed policy of his masters—the capitalist class.

The second point was, that a fierce competition, a conflict exists between the different employers. In order to successfully compete with his competitor the litho. capitalist must constantly expand and modernize his plant. The larger and the more modern the plant, the larger is the capital invested and, consequently, the larger is the amount of interest that that capital must bring. That interest must be squeezed out of the workingman. The workingman bears the brunt of that national conflict also.

The third point was that, due to the conservatism, insincerity and treachery introduced into the labor unions fraternity is practically destroyed—labor is betrayed. The conclusion now reached is that owing to the system of capitalism that conservatism upholds, not peace reigns, but war, that man, owing to the conflicting interests created by capitalism, cannot bear good will toward his fellow-being, but that one man's hand is at the other's throat. To overcome this capitalism must be abolished.

The International Protective and Beneficial Association, the printers' union, is the oldest lithographic union, therefore, the first that ever existed. To print, the printer must have a press. The printer being dependent originally on the hand press suffered first by the introduction of the steam press, or the improved machine. He suffering first, organized first to protect himself. The other branches of the trade remained unorganized. By being organized, the printers achieved some success. Yet every advantage that the printers gained was a disadvantage to the other branches of the trade. The bosses having to pay more for the printing reduced the cost of production in all the other branches of the industry. The other branches being unorganized were then unable to protect themselves. This immediate fact led the artists to form a union. The bosses fearing, now that the artists had formed an organization, that they could not shift the increased cost of printing on to the shoulders of the artists, hailed the formation of this artists' union as a positive danger which must be gotten rid of. Consequently they fought the artists' union harder than they ever fought the printers. This artists' union after "a great arbitration victory" went down in a most ignominious defeat in 1896.

The antique English type of trade unionism though it gives itself the appearance of practicality is impractical. Though giving itself the honor of knowing it all, knows nothing. Though repudiating the Socialist it nevertheless has learned all it knows and which has accrued to the workingman's benefit from the Socialist. Among many things that it has thus learned is the law of supply and demand. It recognizes the fact that if there are more workingmen than jobs wages must go down. Accordingly it has laid down a low ratio of apprentices in its apprentice law. This apprentice law can be considered as the corner stone of trades unionism. The lowest payed branch of the trade is the press feeder. This branch of press feeders consists of young men who hope some day to learn to be a pressman and thus to become self-supporting. The press feeder, being the pressman in embryo, his opportunities were naturally reduced by the low ratio of apprentices stipulated in the printers' union law. Just as soon as the printers' union became strong enough to enforce its apprentice law, a struggle ensued between the press feeders and the pressmen. This immediate fact led to the formation of a press feeders' union. One now alternately scabbed it on the other until finally the printers' union was forced to make concessions to the feeders after it had suffered a decided defeat through feeders scabbing it on the pressmen in the McLoughlin Bros.' strike in Brooklyn.

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Wages, Marriage and The Church

(Continued from page 1.)

and the Church—under which the above criticism is presented, obviously resolve themselves into just one head. Nevertheless, the three shall be taken up seriatim.

WAGES AND PRICES.

Under "Wages" an S. L. P. organizer on the stump is quoted as having said that rises in wages are offset by rises in prices; that a Kangaroo quoted against that a passage from Marx's "Value, Price and Profit"; that the S. L. P. organizer airily brushed aside the objection; that, consequently, he probably knows of Marx nothing but the name, and that such a theory knocks the feet from under the S. T. & L. A. and renders it little else than a "ward-heeling club" for the S. L. P.

The S. L. P. organizer was right on the matter of wages and prices; the conclusions drawn against him and as to the effect of his position on the S. T. & L. A. are wrong; and it was just like that superficial Kangaroo, to have digested Marx so ill as to whip up an abstract theoretic sentence as from an ambush, against facts known and felt by all, and that no wise affect or are affected by the theory.

The story is told of a prisoner who sent for a lawyer and told him his case. The lawyer pulled out of his pocket his manual of the criminal code, hunted up a section, read it aloud to the prisoner, and said: "Stuff and nonsense, you can't be arrested!" "But here I am in a cell." The lawyer again quoted from the code, insisting that the man could not be arrested, and kept it up until the prisoner kicked the shyster out. The clause quoted by the shyster lawyer did stand in that code, but the code contained also another clause, and the two had to be interpreted synthetically, and not dislocatedly. And so on this matter of wages and prices. In that identical work on "Value, Price and Profit" in which the theory is correctly shown that a rise in wages does not necessarily imply a rise in prices, Marx says: "Having shown that a general rise of wages would . . . not affect the average price of commodities or their value," the question comes whether Labor can secure higher wages without having to submit to higher prices, and this question he answers: "As with all other commodities, so with labor, its market price will, in the long run, adapt itself to its value; . . . despite all the ups and downs, and do what he may, the workingman will, on the average, ONLY RECEIVE THE VALUE OF HIS LABOR, WHICH RESOLVES INTO THE VALUE OF HIS LABORING POWER, WHICH IS DETERMINED BY THE VALUE OF THE NECESSARIES REQUIRED FOR ITS MAINTENANCE AND REPRODUCTION,"—in other words, higher wages, in the long run, without at least proportional higher prices of necessaries, would mean a market price for labor out of keeping with its value, "which is determined by the value of the necessaries required for its maintenance"—an economic absurdity.

Marx does not consist of one sentence for Kangaroo agitators to star the country on, or for scribblers to set up such articles on Marxism as abound in the London "Justice." Marx consists of a vast literature that is both practical and theoretic, and the distinctive feature of Marxism is the practical application of its theoretic part.

The economics on the question being as just stated, do they "knock the feet from under the S. T. & L. A."? Not in the remotest. A notion prevails in some quarters that, if, indeed, all increase of wages which a labor organization may secure is nullified by a corresponding rise in price, then labor organizations have no purpose. The notion is false, and the false reasoning is overthrown by Marx himself in scores of passages.

For one thing, a Trades Union's incapacity to actually raise wages does not imply incapacity in all other important wage respects. While the actual raising of wages is an ideal, and that ideal, can not be enjoyed in the long run, there is a "next best" thing—the preventing of wages from dropping to the point that they inevitably would in the total absence of organization. That the trades union, even the pure-and-simplest, does that is not open to discussion. Wages are declining on the whole, relatively and absolutely, but long ago would we have reached the coolie stage if the union did not act as a brake on the decline.

This fact, superficially considered, would only seem to be another knockout to the S. T. & L. A. It might be argued: "Very well, I drop the idea that, if prices keep step with higher wages, the theory of unionism is knocked out; I drop that, but then the feet of the S. T. & L. A. are anyhow knocked out from under it. If even the pure-and-simplest of unions perform the only beneficial function that unionism can accomplish, why start the S. T. & L. A.? Why not all join the pure and simple union?"

This argument is frequently heard on the part of men who call themselves Marxists, and every time it is made it betrays their incapacity for a synthetic comprehension of Marx. For the same reason that the beneficent though negative provisions contained in a truce between two armies on a field of battle, would result disastrously to that one of the two that may be so ill informed as to construe the TRUCE for a TREATY, and deem victory won and the war ended—for that same reason do the compacts, periodically entered into by pure and simple unions with capitalists, and that have the beneficent effect of brakes on the decline of wages, exercise a steadily evil influence upon the working class. Pure and simple unionism condemns the Labor Movement to the status of a routed and retreating army, with unionism as the rear guard, uninformed and visionary enough to imagine its periodical and temporary stands against the advancing cavalry of capitalism to be victories that end the war. All the good that there may be in such stands and truces are thereby lost, they become a bane. As the scourge that concentrated machinery is to-day upon the race is not a feature essential to the concentrated and otherwise beneficent machinery, but only the result of an incident, and an incident that can be and must be removed, to wit, its private ownership character, so is the steadily evil influence exercised by pure and simple unionism not a feature essential to unionism but only the result of an incident, to wit, its pure and simple character, which ignores the perpetual condition of war between Capital and Labor. This incident in unionism can and must be removed. Class-conscious unionism CAN profit by the truces that it concludes with Capitalism because it will not mistake them for treaties that end the war, consequently its retreats would never be retreats that inevitably are but the preliminaries for further and ever worse retreats, its retreats would be the preliminaries for final triumph. The S. T. & L. A. is there for the purpose of removing that incident that now blights unionism; that is the reason for its existence, and that is why, even though prices rise in tempo with the alleged rise of wages, and even though pure and simple unionism checks the decline in Labor's earnings, the S. T. & L. A. form of unionism is a necessity.

Without mentioning other valuable features of bona fide unionism, apart from the wages feature, grossly unfit would that S. L. P. organizer be who, on the stump—not engaged at writing a book—but on the stump, and in the face of both the obvious rises in prices and the false pretences of the Labor fakirs concerning how they are raising wages, would indulge in the Kangaroo vanities of quoting theories, out of their context, befuddle his hearers, play into the hands of the fakirs, and thereby boost the pure and simple delusion. Whatever else may be said of the S. L. P. organizer who would resist such vanities, not to him the charge will stick of knowing of Marx hardly more than his name.

In sociology as in biology formations shade into each other without destroying the typical feature of each. The Labor Movement or Socialism is political and economic. The S. L. P. represents the type of the political, the S. T. & L. A. of the economic arm of the Movement in the continuous war between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class. For all these reasons both organizations stand on feet too firm to be knocked from under them, and, while each trains and is bound to train recruits for the other, unfit is any remark that even remotely hints at either as a present or potential "ward-heeling club" for the other.

The rest and bulk of the criticism is pointedly at the alleged "anti-religious" tendency of the S. L. P. Our critic takes up the subject under three distinct heads: The People's treatment of clergymen who attack Socialism; Bebel's "Woman"; and Vandervelde's article,—all of which appeared in these columns.

ATTACKS ON "THEOLOGY."

As to The People's treatment of clergymen who attack Socialism the charge is: "If a clergyman anywhere attacks Socialism the tendency is to hit back, not at his economic absurdities, but at his theology." In vain do we search in that passage, or in any of the others that precede or follow it, for even a remote hint of an allegation of fact or instance illustrating the charge that if a clergyman anywhere attacks Socialism he is hit back not at his absurd economics but at his theology. Being unaware of ever having tackled our clerical opponents on their theology, left in utter darkness for an illustration of such being done, we have ransacked our memory. A long procession of instances where we "hit back" at clergymen started a cavalcade before our mind's eye, and as each instance crossed the reviewing line, we questioned it, Art thou a case in point? For instance:

The Roman Catholic Cardinal Gibbons, fresh back from the conclave at Rome, where he took the oath to defend the *temporal* power of the Pope, *"usque ad effusionem sanguinis"* (up to the shedding of blood), declared Socialism unpatriotic and Socialists un-American. He was "hit back" by asking him with what grace he, who had just been swearing such extreme allegiance to a *foreign temporal* power, could denounce the Socialists as "un-American and unpatriotic."—Was that theology?

A Chicago Jewish Rabbi sermonized on the baneful effects of Socialism inasmuch as it would destroy the incentive to work. He was "hit back" with the figures and facts showing how the sweatshopped Jewish workingmen fell by the wayside utterly despondent, seeing that the more they worked the quicker they knocked themselves out of work.—Was that theology?

Clergymen of all denominations have insulted the Socialists' wives and children. They were "hit back" by holding up to them the utterings of their own savants, pronouncing prostitution a necessity of capitalist society.—Was that theology?

Clergymen of all denominations have slandered Socialism as a destroyer of the family. They were "hit back" with proofs that the capitalist system, which they uphold, tears the mother from the child, and throws her into the factory; reduces earnings and thereby prevents marriages; makes the worker dependent on the fickleness of the market, and thereby sends him far away from his family in search of work; separates the sexes thereby building "he-towns" and "she-towns," and they were convicted of being the abettors of the ruination of the family.—Was that theology?

A Roman Catholic Archbishop denounced Socialism as an inciter to rebellion against the "word of God," which commanded man to be satisfied with "the station in which it has pleased God to put him." He was "hit back" and silenced with the question whether he was not a hypocrite, seeing he was then an Archbishop, whereas "it had pleased God" to put him in another station by making him the son of a rum-seller.—Was that theology?

Another Roman Catholic prelate pronounced Socialists unutterable on the ground of their materialist conception of history. He was "hit back" with two arrows from his own quiver. One was the passage where Jesus, before preaching to the multitude, satisfied their physical wants, and considered that so important as even to perform a miracle, so as to first feed them on loaves and fishes; the other quotation was from a leading Catholic divine who maintained the necessity of the Papal temporal power, on the ground that, without the temporal (material) basis, the spiritual duties of the Church could not be performed.—Was that theology?

The whole Catholic hierarchy in chorus slandered the Socialists as murderers of rulers and disturbers of the State at the time of the Czolgosz affair. They were "hit back" by citing a long list of murderers of rulers down to present days, including Czolgosz himself, all of whom were Catholics, and by showing that their theory of society, terrestrial society, by exaggerating the value of the individual and by claiming that governmental power comes from above instead of from below, was, under given conditions, a natural breeder of assassins of rulers, as the long list showed.—Was that theology?

We call a halt to the procession. If such instances are instances of attacking theology, then the subjects must be considered theologic. There should be no confusion regarding such definitions. The S. L. P. does not consider them theologic. If any there be who does, he should state so categorically. We should all know it.

Theology or religion is a delicate and occult thing. No man of sense and surely none of feeling will "hit back" at that tender vein. He will respect that private feeling with others, as he will expect others to respect it with him. But that is one thing, and another is to allow clergymen to extend the jurisdiction of "theology" over terrestrial and civic matters, as they endeavor to do. To allow them to, and not "hit back," and hard, too, at such clerical usurpations over a domain that is purely civic, would be to allow them to walk into our encampment, take possession, and non-suit the cause of Socialism—and that indeed would "be satisfactory to the enemy." With Daniel O'Connell, the S. L. P. says: "All the religion you like from Rome, but no politics."

BEBEL'S "WOMAN."

As to Bebel's "Woman," our critic is certainly right when he says that "judicious extracts," that is, garblings, from the work will repel. So, decidedly so, would "judicious extracts" from the Bible or Shakespeare. The visitation of being "judiciously" garbled is one that no work, not the purest and soundest, is free from. There is nothing in that charge. Moreover, what sort of intellect is that that will place its judgment in the hands of garblers, and allow it to turn from a work by garblings? Surely, not upon such material could Socialism build—nor did any great movement ever build on such intellectual quicksands. Nor are we inclined to dispute the view that some of the revelations in the book may tickle the prurient who may see in them only pruriency. We all know that there are men of the Comstock make-up who can see in the shape of the Venus of Milo only prurient nudity. That, however, the popularity of the book is due to such pruriency, is an unfelicitous statement, which, in its preposterous sweepingness, cannot but shake confidence in the coolness of our critic's judgment. Finally, and first to dispose of minor objections, our critic's "case in point"—where, after economic independence has been secured to man and woman ,the instance is supposed of a man ceasing to love his wife and mother of his children, then loving some other woman, and leaving the former, and closing with the question whether economic freedom would be a solace to the deserted mother and children—is in strange contradiction with the observation that the paragraph opens with, and in which our critic asserts that he always has been and is now of the opinion that "the tendency of civilization is toward the perfection and completion, instead of toward the destruction of monogamic marriage." This "case in point" recalls the "cases in point" that single-taxers are wont to adduce against Socialism—they all proceed from the mental bias acquired under present conditions, and from the error of forgetting that the altered and superior conditions will remove the results that are the essence of most of these "cases in point." How can anyone expect to see monogamic marriage perfected, and yet conceive such a "case in point," despite the material conditions have been removed that to-day render "elective affinity" or "natural selection" a lie on the lips of the praise-singers of capitalist society; that to-day lash man and woman into false acts, before, during and after marriage; and that so cruelly bruises monogamic marriage? How can such a monstrosity as the one cited in the "case in point" be imagined—not as an exception whose shockingness only would tend to promote monogamic marriage—but as a "case in point" that society must reckon with? How can such a "case in point" be conceived but by a mind that carries into future society the sights of the present, and the material impressions from which they proceed? We hold that, using the term "monogamic marriage" in its ethnologic and only sense in which it may properly be used, both the facts gathered by Bebel and the further facts and argumentation presented by the translator's preface, leave room for no conclusion other than that monogamic marriage only awaits the economic freedom of the race to blossom like the rose.

The "case in point" directly leads to the fundamental error from which the objection to Bebel's "Woman" proceeds.

The opinion that "the abolition of the capitalist system will, undoubtedly, solve the economic side of the Woman Question, but will solve that alone" is utopian in that it denies the controlling influence of material conditions upon any and all social institutions. What that influence is no Marxist should question. For its influence on "marriage," etc., there is the monumental work of Lewis H. Morgan—an undisputed authority in ethnic science. Here are some of his conclusions, gathered at random, after a mass of demonstrative facts:

"It is impossibe to overestimate the influence of property in the civilization of mankind."

"After the experience of several thousand years it (property) caused the abolition of slavery upon the discovery that a freeman was a better property-making machine."

"The monogamian family owes its origin to property. . . The growth of the idea of property in the human mind . . . is intimately connected with the establishment of this form of the family."

The whole work abounds with illustrations that revolutionized ethnology and furnished Marxian sociology with its irrefutable ethnic basis, going to show that the tenderest affections and sentiments—physical, sexual and mental—have developed along the line of and in the measure that material conditions made them possible. This thirty-third edition of Bebel's "Woman," planted squarely on Morgan, supplementing Morgan with Marx, and weaving in the historic connection of marital relations, has an educational propagandistic value which no amount of actual or imaginary thorns that may attach to the stalk of that rose can nullify. No wonder the S. L. P. never went through the superfluous trouble of consulting or voting upon the essential merits of this cannonball fired through the web of lies that the spokesmen and candle-holders of the usurping class have woven and seek to stuff the human intellect with.

VANDERVELDE'S ARTICLE.

Finally, as to Vandervelde's article, which, barring a few obvious typographical errors, was published in these columns in full, and not in extracts, as it appeared in "The Independent." Here our critic is, if possible, still more infelicitous than under the previous heads.

Is a man wrong in what he is right because he is wrong in what he is wrong?

What sort of argument is that which leaves allegations of fact—that may be true and may be false—untouched, and would seek by indirection to discredit them with the utterer's wrong doings in other respects? Vandervelde expresses private opinions and he also adduces allegations of fact. As to the former, for instance, his opinion touching the numbers of free-thinking workingmen who are Socialists, such opinions are not statistics of facts but of fancy, like our critic's statistics about "hundreds of women who were repelled from studying Socialism" by judicious extracts from Bebel's "Woman;" or the statistics of the man he once ran across somewhere who told him "De Leon had driven hundreds of thousands of men out of the S. L. P." Why spend so much time on these unimportant matters, and not a word on Vandervelde's allegation of what M. Woeste, one of the heads of the Belgian Catholic party, said? Or his other allegation quoting the Catholic writer, Donoso Cortes? Or on his allegations that go to show the Catholic Church in Belgium to have openly converted itself into a political machine? Our critic says truly that "on every question of tactics he (Vandervelde) has proven himself unsafe," but what about the questions of FACT that he alleges? Our critic pronounces the article "absurd," does the sentence of "absurd" extend over the allegations of fact regarding the Catholic political party in Belgium, and the quotations from Catholic writers? If the allegations of fact are "absurd" why not expose them with counter allegations so that the readers may verify the allegations of both sides, and find out on what leg the "absurd" boot lies? Or must we conclude that seeing it is clergymen who run that political machine, and seeing they give their party a religious name, the matter, therefore, becomes "theology" and the Belgian Socialists should not "hit back" at that.

Without abandoning the judicial temper and moderation necessary in the handling of such grave issues—grave in view of the role they have played in former movements—we must emphatically say that—after enumerating a long list of Kangarooic and heels-over-head acts of Vandervelde, for all of which he has been severely taken to task in these columns, and on account of which The People has uniformly expressed a poor opinion of the man as a tactician—our critic is unhandsome in his climax: "but, lo, he (Vandervelde) speaks against the Catholic Church, and presto, he is become an oracle!" There is no warrant for the reasoning, least of all for the conclusion of "oracle." With greater justice could one argue:

"The Belgian Socialists have been fighting for the suffrage—good; they have been opposing the system of plural voting, that artificially raises their exploiters from a minority to a controlling majority—good; they have been struggling to gain political power under a program that demands the public ownership of the land on and the tools with which to work—good; they have been claiming that Labor alone produces all wealth, consequently Labor being in poverty, is plundered, consequently, the idle capitalist, being in affluence, is in possession of stolen goods—good; they have been demanding liberal education and leisure to profit by it, and proving their plunderers to be in a conspiracy to breed and perpetuate ignorance—good; but, lo, the Catholic Church takes the political field in Belgium against all that, and presto, all that is become theology and should not be bothered with!"

Aye, Socialism is a political and economic movement, and the S. L. P. is seeking to clear the way for the Social Revolution. It will keep to that! It will neither degenerate into Kangarooic vain splittings of hair on economics, nor will it allow any one clergyman or organization of clergymen, to rule it one inch off its legitimate, terrestrial field of action. It will firmly keep hold of the whole of its big enough and noble proposition.—Editor The People.]

THE TROUBLE IN THE LITHO. INDUSTRY

(Continued from page 1.)

In 1896, after the artists' strike had been lost, a baker's dozen of men who saw into the folly of organizing on branch lines and recognizing that capitalism with its conflicting interests is the seat of the trouble, organized a local of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, under the title "Progressive Alliance, 170, S. T. and L. A." Certain men, opportunists, that is, contractors, piece workers and foremen, fearing the clear-cut tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance (which would certainly have forced them to rely on nothing but their own earnings and which certainly would have stopped them furthering the ruination of the trade by acting as exploiters of labor on a small scale), and assisted ably by the bogus Socialist, the inevitable kangaroo, successfully organized another artists' union on the same lines of that which had suffered defeat. [Proof for these statements is given by some of these middlemen themselves, at the present moment, as they are scabbing it in the present trouble because the artists' union had made the abolishment of piecework and the contract work an issue. As to the bogus Socialist, freak and fraud that he is, he sought as usual the company of the dishonest. Birds of a feather fly together. He repudiates the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance here in the East, and he endorses an organization, "The American Labor Union," founded on the same principle as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in the West. When his dishonest and corrupt political record is shown to him he cries out "the difference does not lie in me being corrupt and you honest, but the difference lies in trade union tactics." The formation of the American Labor Union pulls the last plank from under him—he now stands pilloried as a freak and fraud, the victim of a private publishing association, "The N. Y. Volkszeitung Publishing Association."]

The advent of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance proved to be a boom for unionism in the trade. In order to stave off its influence, the leaders of the L. I. P. set to work. Every branch of the trade that had hitherto not been organized now formed an organization. At this time the poster artists organized, the stone-grinders organized and a little later, the cutters organized. An allied trades council was broached. Things now began to take another aspect. No more could the bosses shift advantages that the organized had wrung from them upon the shoulders of the unorganized. The whole trade being now organized they, as isolated firms stood helpless. This drove them to organize. They found a fit manager, "a social engineer," in A. Beverley Smith. It was now no longer a trade war. It was a class war. It was now no longer one branch of the trade against another. It was now the organized lithographic capitalists against the organized lithographic workmen.

In the strife that ensued organized labor, organized in the English type of trade unionism, was beaten back. To this fact is due the formation of the heretofore broached trade alliance between the different unions. A. Beverley Smith introduced a system to control employment, wages, etc. The unions swallowed it. He then introduced other obnoxious usages. They approved of them by accepting them. He has to-day put them in such a pickle that the leaders, recognizing their weakness, are willing to sign away their last vestige of independence by signing an arbitration agreement which practically makes the constitution of all the unions null and void. And this, too, in spite of the fraudulent outcome of arbitration in the artists' strike and of the recent coal miners' strike. Experience abounds to prove that the labor union that stoops to arbitration is doomed to sacrifice its members' interests in some manner or other. Arbitration is a wedge inserted into the working class struggle for its own interests, for the benefit of the employing—the capitalist—class. Remember the artists' arbitration!

We have outlined in the first part of this address the existing struggle between the classes under capitalism. We have outlined in the second part of our circular the growth and development of trades-unionism in the lithographic trade. We have further shown in the second part that the existing unions not recognizing the cause of the existing class struggle, are unable to cope with the situation, and advocating a suicidal measure. For a successful labor movement something more is needed than mere numbers. It must possess principle in accord with its class interests. The existing unions are as an army without arms on this account.

Below is attached the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. It has the principles that are needed for labor's success. The spirit of conservatism is not tolerated within that union. To prevent the trade from deteriorating every man within the trade ought to join the new trade union.

Peruse this address closely. Study the principles below. Keep this address for future reference. If you do not agree with us now future developments will drive you to us. The solution that we propose is the only practical and sane one. We have the principles, you have the numbers. History teaches us that the numbers, when once they recognize a principle are carried along like spray before the wind. The position that you now hold is untenable. Between two given points a straight line is the shortest distance. On then to peace and to the Socialist Republic.

S. T. & L. A. Declaration of Principles.

WHEREAS, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, method and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

WHEREAS, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things canot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

THEREFORE, It is as a class conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step, and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Progressive Lithographers' Alliance, 170,
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.
Daily People Building, 2-6 Reade street,
N. Y. City.

BEBEL'S DRESDEN SPEECH.

Continued from page 1.)

visionism ever will have success in our Party? (Stormy assent.) No, comrades, success it has not, but it hurts the Party. ("Quite right!") It splits our strength ("Very true!"), it retards our development, it forces us into disunity, it compels us to mutual opposition. All of which should be exactly reversed. ("Quite right!") Whole ranks of comrades are mislead. ("Very true!")

That these people make an honest fight I do not doubt in the least. I also have made you acquainted with the state of affairs as far as our university men are concerned—how many a one forgets all too soon what he has learned as a Social Democrat—how many believe, more or less, they are the natural-born leaders of the proletariat (assent), how more than one of them believes the proletariat ought to be proud that he honors it by accepting a nomination. ("Very true!")

This is not ill will; this is not premeditated treason, but it is an evil for the Party.

Next to the university men comes the other part of our revisionists, the former proletarians in higher stations of life ("Quite right!"), who consider their present condition as final to a certain degree. Apply the materialistic conception of history, and you have the solution of the riddle. Whatever applies to all our enemies also applies to us.

And then the conceit as to one's innate political gift, as to one's natural destiny as a diplomatic genius! This conceit, in connection with the intercourse with people of the other view, gradually effects them when one reaches the ways which I pointed out here to-day.

Furthermore, also, the so-called proletarians belong to it! These are the ignorant, the uninstructed, those whom follow somebody whose personality they esteem and to whom they believe they ought to be grateful. But if it would only be possible to ascertain the opinion of the real proletariat in the Party regarding revisionism, revisionism would have a beautiful, stately staff, but a very small army behind it. (Great assent.)

And because revisionism—I do not deny nor conceal it—has been strengthened by the last elections, particularly in the delegation ("Hear! hear!")—because I know that these people will naturally try to prevail in the delegation—because I know that this, as before, will lead anew to continual fights and disputes of the most disagreeable and of the most repusive kind, therefore I said to myself: Let the convention, let the representatives of the Party now decide what definite course of tactics the delegation shall adhere to in the future. (Applause.)

I have already said in one of my first declarations: "I know we are facing, especially in the delegation, serious conflicts concerning tactics, but I also know, that, in the last instance, when the party speaks questions will be decided differently than in the delegation. (Quite right!) More than in the past will we be compelled to appeal to the party for decisions regarding the tactics of the delegation."

From this point of view have we submitted to you the resolution, corrected as read. From this point of view, I beg you to regard and to consider this resolution, and if you believe it voices that to which voice ought to be given, vote for it in overwhelming majority (Calls: "Unanimously!") and I am convinced when this guide-post has been set and when the other measures, necessary to spread in future, charity, truth and knowledge about all important Party questions have been seized—then I am convinced that the Party will continue on it's proud march to victory and that it will fulfill its historic mission in the must magnificent manner. (Stormy and continuous applause.)

The End.

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The Pilgrim's Shell

OR

FERGAN THE QUARRYMAN

A Tale From the Feudal Times

By **EUGENE SUE**

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH
By **DANIEL DE LEON**

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PART III.—THE COMMUNE OF LAON.

CHAPTER IX.

RESTING ON THEIR ARMS.

While this tragic scene was enacting, another body of the people of Laon, led by Ancel Quatre-Mains and his sprightly wife, invaded the episcopal palace from another side. Fergan was running to meet them the moment he saw them enter the green, when he caught sight of Archdeacon Anselm, who, having so far kept aloof from the theater of the conflict, was now hastening to the spot, informed of the bishop's fate by one of his domestics. The archdeacon succeeded in inducing the communiers to refrain from submitting the remains of their enemy to the idle and last disgrace contemplated by them. Helped by two servants, the worthy priest of Christ was carrying the corpse of the bishop, when he noticed Fergan, and said to him in a voice deeply moved, with the tears running down his cheeks: "I wish to bury the body of this unfortunate man, and to pray for him. My sad forecasts have been verified. Only yesterday, warning him in the midst of his braggart and fatal illusion of security, I expressed the hope that I may not soon have to pray over his grave. Oh, Fergan, civil war is a terrible scourge!"

"A curse upon those who provoke these execrable strifes, that carry mourning into the camp of both the vanquishers and the vanquished!" answered the quarryman, and leaving the archdeacon to fulfil his pious office, he proceeded to join Quatre-Mains, who commanded the other troop of the invaders.

The worthy Councilman, ever hampered and incommoded by his military equipment, had rid himself of it in the moment of battle. Replacing his iron casque with a woolen cap and keeping on his leather jerkin only, with his coat sleeves rolled back, as he was wont when kneading his dough, he had armed himself with the poker of his oven, a long and heavy iron implement, bent at one end. His stout-hearted little wife Simonne, her cheeks in a glow and her eyes aflame, carried in her skirt a bundle of lint and bandages ready for use, together with a wicker-covered flask, containing a decoction, pronounced marvelous by her for checking the flow of blood. Joy and the excitement of triumph radiated from the charming features of the baker's wife. At the sight of Fergan, however, whose face was clotted with the blood of the wound he had received on his head, she cried out sadly: "Neighbor Fergan, you are wounded! Let me tend you, the fight is over; be not alarmed about your son; we have just seen him at his post on the ramparts; he is safe and sound, although there was a sharp encounter at that spot; sit down on this bench, I shall nurse you the same as I would have done Ancel, had he been wounded. Upon the faith of a Picardian woman, if he escaped being hurt, it was not his fault; he merited anew his surname of Quatre-Mains, the way he belabored the heads and backs of the episcopals."

Fergan accepted Simonne's offer and sat down upon a bench, while the young woman looked for the lint in her pockets. The baker himself stopped a few steps behind to gather the details of the capture of the bishop. He then approached his wife, and seeing her engaged upon Fergan, hastened his steps, asking with deep interest: "What, neighbor, wounded? Nothing serious?"

"I was struck with an axe on my casque," and raising his head which he had inclined to facilitate the nursing of Simonne, Fergan noticed the rather unmilitary accoutrement of his friend: "Why did you take off your armor in the middle of the fight?"

"Upon my faith, the casque kept dropping on my nose, the corselet took the breath from me, the sword encumbered my legs. Accordingly, when the fight started, I made myself comfortable, just as I do when I am kneading dough. I rolled up my sleeves, and instead of that devil of a sword, which I cannot handle, I armed myself with my iron poker, the use of which is familiar to me."

"But what could you do with a poker? It is a rather singular implement of war."

"What could he do with it?" put in Simonne, saturating a bandage with the contents of the wicker-covered flask, and applying the same to the quarryman's wound. "Oh, Ancel is quick with his hands. If a nobleman on horseback came near, armed to the teeth, my husband grappled his throat with the hook of his long poker and then pulled with all his might; I helped when necessary. In almost every instance we unhorsed the knight, and throwing him to the ground he was at our mercy."

"After which," added the baker calmly, "and after beating my man with the hook of my poker, I despatched him with the handle. I settled more than one of them. One does what he can!"

"Oh, neighbor!" Simonne proceeded with enthusiasm; "it was especially at the siege of the house of the knight of Haut-Pourcin that Ancel made a famous use of his poker. Several episcopals and their servants, entrenched upon a crenelated terrace, fired down upon us with cross-bows. They had killed or wounded so many communiers, that none dared come near the accursed house, and our people had retired to the end of the street. Presently, we saw the wicked knight of Haut-Pourcin, cross-bow in hand, leaning half over the battlement of the terrace, to see if there was any of ours that he could hit. At that instant—," but interrupting herself, Simonne said to her husband: "Tell your own story, Ancel; while I speak I cannot pay proper attention to the bandage of our neighbor."

While Simonne finished attending to Fergan, the baker continued the narrative that his wife had commenced: "Noti[illegible]g that the knight of Haut-Pourcin leaned over the terrace [illegible] times, I profited by a moment when he had withdrawn; [illegible]d along the wall to the foot of the house; as the projection of the balcony prevented him from seeing me, I watched for my man; the instant he again put out his head I snatched him up with the hook of my poker exactly at the jointure of his casque and his cuirass with might and main; Simonne came and helped; and we had the satisfaction of making that noble personage turn a somersault from the height of the terrace down to the street; our communiers ran by; the episcopals rushed out of the knight's house to deliver him; they were driven back and we stormed the building!"

"And lo!" cried Simonne heroically, "I, who did not leave the heels of Ancel, find myself face to face with that old hag of the dame of Haut-Pourcin, who was yelling like a fury: 'Kill! Kill! No quarter for those vile clowns! Exterminate them!' I was seized with rage, and recalling the insults that the harpy had poured upon me shortly before I threw her down, grabbed her by the throat, and, as true as Ancel is called Quatre-Mains, I slapped her face as thoroughly as if I was endowed with six hands, all the while saying to her: 'Take this! and that! you proud dame of Haut-Pourcin. Take this, and that, and still another, you wicked old hag! Oh, my gallants pay for my skirts, do they! Very well, I pay cash, and in round sums for the insults I receive!' Upon the faith of a Picardian woman, had her hair not been gray, like my mother's, I would have strangled the she-devil!"

Fergan could not help smiling at the exaltation of Simonne. He then said to Ancel: "When I heard the large bell of the cathedral ringing in a peculiar way, I concluded it was the signal agreed upon between the bishop and his partisans to attack our people simultaneously from within and from without the city."

"You were not mistaken, neighbor. At that signal, the episcopals, who had laid their plans and gathered their forces over night, sallied forth from their houses crying: 'Kill, kill the communiers!' Other noblemen also were besieged in their houses. The fight was going on with the same vigor on the streets and squares, while a troop of episcopals betook itself to the ramparts on the side of the bishop's gate."

"Expecting to fall from the rear upon our people who they thought were being attacked in front," said Fergan. "For that reason I ordered my son to be on his guard. You assure me he is not wounded? God be praised!"

"If he is wounded, neighbor Fergan," replied Simonne, "it can only be slightly. He called out to us from the top of the ramparts: 'Victory! Victory! Our people are masters of the bishop's palace!'"

"And now," said Quatre-Mains, "meseems the Mayor and Councilmen should meet at the Town Hall to consider what is to be done."

"I think so, too, Ancel. We shall leave here a sufficient force to keep the palace. Watch shall continue to be held on the ramparts of the city, whose gates shall be closed and barricaded. Let's not deceive ourselves. However legitimate our insurrection, we must be prepared to see Louis the Lusty return to lay siege to the city at the head of the re-inforcements that he has gone to fetch. The Princes are on the side of the clergy."

"I think so, too," replied the Councilman with resignation and fortitude: "John Molrain said to the royal messenger: 'The King of the French is all-powerful in Gaul; the Commune of Laon is strong only in its right and the courage of its inhabitants.' We shall fight as well as we may against Louis the Lusty and his army; and we shall, if need be, be killed to the last man."

"Thank you for your kind nursing, good neighbor," Fergan said to Simonne; "I now feel in good trim. My poor Joan will be jealous."

"It is rather I who should be jealous," retorted Simonne. "Crossing our street, we saw the basement room of your house full of wounded men, at whom your wife and Martine were busy. The good souls!"

"Dear souls! How uneasy they must feel!" said Fergan. "I must hasten to ease their minds, and I shall return to superintend our defence."

The conversation between Fergan and Ancel was here interrupted by cries and shouts mingled with cheers that went up from one of the yards of the palace, which was given up to pillage and devastation. The insurgents sought vengeance not only for the perjury of Gaudry, but also for the odious exactions and cruelties that they had suffered before the establishment of the Commune. Some, staving in the vats in the storeroom, were getting drunk on the bishop's precious wines, a rich tithe, once collected by him on the vineyards of the villeins; others, making a heap of the tapestry and furniture which they dragged from his rooms into the yard, set fire to the pile; finally, and it was the shouts of these last that reached the quarryman and the baker, yet others, seizing the sacredotal robes and insignia of the prelate, organized themselves into a grotesque procession, of which little Robin the Crumb-cracker was the hero. The blacksmith's apprentice, carrying on his head the episcopal mitre that almost completely hid his face, and robed in a cape of gold cloth that trailed at his heels, held in his hands a vermillion cross studded with precious stones. He scattered to the right and left grotesque benedictions, while the communiers, now half drunk, as well as the bishop's serfs, who, after the fight had joined the vanquishers, sang at the top of their voices a parody of church hymns, interspersed ever and anon with cheers of "Long live Robin the Crumb-cracker!"

Leaving these rolicking youngsters to amuse themselves at their pleasure on the bishop's premises, Fergan and his neighbors betook themselves to the city. Night was approaching. Bidding good-bye to the baker and his wife and requesting them to hasten ahead of him to his house and set Joan and Martine's minds at ease, Fergan mounted the rampart to meet his son. The latter, considering it prudent to keep watch, even after the victory of the day, was busy with the measures for the night. At sight of his father with his head bandaged, Colombaik uttered a cry of alarm, but soon was set at ease by Fergan. After providing for additional measures of security, both returned home.

Night had set in. Everywhere the fight had long ended. The communiers were collecting their dead and wounded by the light of torches. Women, bathed in tears, ran to the places where the fight had been hottest, and looked for a father, a husband, a son, or a brother, in the midst of the corpses that the streets were strewn with. At other places, exasperated at the chiefs of the episcopal party, the communiers were demolishing their fortified houses. Finally, at a distance, a brilliant gleam crimsoned the sky, and cast its reflection hither and thither on the gables of the taller houses. It was the glare of a conflagration. The fire was devouring the dwelling of the bishop's treasurer, one of the most execrated of the episcopals. Neither did the cathedral of Laon escape the avenging torch of the insurgents.

"Never, my child, blot this terrible spectacle from your memory. Such are the fruits of civil war," said Fergan to his son, stopping in the middle of the Exchange square, one of the most elevated spots of the city, and whence the burning cathedral could be seen at a distance. "Look at the flames of the conflagration that is devouring the cathedral; hark to the sound of the seigniorial towers crashing down under the hammer blows of the communiers; listen to the moaning of yonder children, now become orphans, of their mothers, now become widows; contemplate these wounded men, these bleeding corpses carried away by their relatives and by friends in tears; behold at this hour, everywhere in the city, mourning, consternation, vengeance, disaster, fire and death! Then recall the happy and peaceful aspect that this same city offered only yesterday, when the people, in the fulness of their joy, inaugurated the symbol of their enfranchisement, bought, agreed and sworn to by our oppressors! It was a beautiful day. How our hearts leaped at every peal from our belfry! How all eyes shown with pride at the sight of our communal banner! All of us, bourgeois and artisans, rejoicing in the present and confident of the future, wished to continue to live under a charter sworn to by the nobles, the bishop and the King. But it happened that nobles, bishop and King, having dissipated the money with which we paid for our franchises, said to themselves: 'What does a signature or an oath matter; we are powerful and numerous; we are used to wielding the lance and the sword; those artisans and bourgeois, vile clowns all, will flee before us. To horse, noble episcopals, to horse! High the sword! High the lance! Kill, massacre the communiers!'"

"But the communiers made the King of the French take to his heels, and have exterminated the knights!" cried Colombaik with enthusiasm. "The son of one of the victims of that infamous bishop cleaved his skull in two with a blow of his axe! The cathedral is on fire, and the seigniorial towers are crumbling down! Such is the price of perjury! Such is the terrible and just chastisement of the people who unchained the furies of war against this city, so tranquil but yester night! Oh, let the blood that has been shed fall upon the criminals! Their turn has come to tremble! Old Gaul is waking up after six centuries of torpor! The day of the rule of might and clerical chicanery is over! The hour of deliverance has sounded!——"

"Not yet, my son!"

"What! The King is fleeing; the bishop killed; the episcopals exterminated or in hiding; the city ours!"

"Have you given a thought to the morrow?"

"The morrow? We shall preserve our conquest, or shall fight other battles, equally victorious!"

"No illusions, dear boy! Louis the Lusty fled before an insurrection that he did not think himself equal to cope with. But ere long he will be back to the walls of Laon with considerable forces, and he will then dictate his will."

"We shall resist unto death!"

"I know, that despite all our heroism, we shall succumb in the fray."

"What! These franchises, paid for with our good money and now sealed with our blood,—shall they be torn from us? Are our children to fall back under the abhorred yoke of the lay and ecclesiastical seigneurs? Oh, father, are we to despair of the future?"

"To despair? Never! Thanks to the communal insurrections, that were provoked by the feudal atrocities, our worst days are over. The legitimate and terrible reprisals of Noyon, Cambrai, Ameins and Beauvais, just as these fresh ones of Laon, will inspire the seigneurs with a wholesome fear. These holy insurrections have proved to our masters that the 'clowns, artisans and bourgeois' will no longer allow themselves to be taxed at mercy, robbed, tortured and killed with impunity. Our darkest days are over. But our descendants will still have bloody battles to fight before the arrival of the radiant day predicted by Victoria the Great!"

"And yet all has gone our way on this day."

"Rely upon my experience and foresight. Louis the Lusty will presently return at the head of redoubtable forces. The death of this infamous Gaudry, just though it was, will unchain against our city the fury of the clericals. The bolts of excommunication will second the royal arms. We are bound to go down—not before the excommunication; people laugh at that—but under the blows of the soldiers of Louis the Lusty. Our bravest men will be killed in battle, banished or executed after the King's victory. Another bishop will be imposed upon the city of Laon. Our belfry will be torn down, our seal will be broken, our banner torn and our treasury pilfered. The episcopals, supported by the King, will take vengeance for their defeat. Torrents of blood will flow in the city. That's what's before us."

"Then all is lost!"

"Child," proceeded Fergan with a melancholy smile, "men are killed; the principle of freedom never, after it has once penetrated the popular heart. Will Louis the Lusty, the new bishop, the nobles, however cruel their vengeance may be, massacre all the inhabitants of Laon? No. They are bound to leave alive the larger part of the communiers, if for no other purpose than to have whom to levy taxes on. The mothers, sisters, wives, tho children of those who will have died for liberty, will continue to live. Oh, no doubt, for a while, the terror will be intense; the recollection of the disasters, of the massacres, of the banishments, and of the executions that will have followed upon the struggle, will at first paralyze all thought of insurrection. But none of that will last."

"Accordingly, the new bishop and the nobles will redouble their audacity? Their oppression will become more frightful than before?"

"No, the new bishop, however insensate he may be, will never forget the terrible fate of Gaudry; the nobles will not forget the death of so many of their people, who fell under the blows of the people's justice. That valuable example will be useful to us. The first thirst for vengeance on the part of the episcopals, once slaked, they will ease the yoke out of fear for new revolts. Nor is that all. Those of us who will have survived the struggle, will gradually forget those evil days and recall the happy ones when the Commune, free, peaceful, flourishing, exempt from all crushing imposts, and wisely governed by a magistracy of its own choice, was the pride and bulwark of its inhabitants. Those who will have witnessed those happy days will speak of them to their children with enthusiasm. They will tell their little ones how one day the King and the bishop having leagued themselves against the Commune, the latter valliantly rose in arms, forced Louis the Lusty to flee, and exterminated the bishop and his episcopals. The glory of the triumph will cause the disaster of the subsequent defeat to be forgotten. The feeling will take hold of revenging the overthrow of the Commune by restoring it. By little and little the enthusiasm will gain ground, and, when the moment shall have come, the insurrection will break out anew. Just reprisals will once more be exercised against our enemies, and our franchises will be proclaimed again. Mayhaps that again that second step towards freedom is followed by a savage re-action. But the step will have been taken. Some franchises will continue in force. And thus, step by step, painfully, by dint of struggles, of courage, of perseverance, our descendants, alternately vanquishers and vanquished, halting at times after battle to tend their wounded and recover breath, but never retreating an inch, will in the course of time arrive at the goal of that laborious and bloody journey. Then will the radiant sun of the day of Gaul's enfranchisement rise in all its glory!"

"Oh, father," said Colombaik, overpowered with sorrow, "woe is us, if Victoria's prediction is not to be verified, according to her prophetic visions, but across heaps of ruins and torrents of blood!"

"Do you imagine freedom is gained without struggle? We are the vanquishers. Our cause is holy like justice, sacred like right. And yet, look around!" answered the quarryman, pointing his son to the dismal spectacle presented by Exchange square, encumbered with the dead and dying, and lighted by the glamor of the torches and the lingering gleams of the fire of the Cathedral. "Look around, what streams of blood, what heaps of ruins!"

"Oh, why this terrible fatality!" resumed Colombaik in tones almost of despair. "Why must the conquest of such legitimate rights cost so dear!"

"The insurrection of the communal bourgeois is but the symptom of an enfranchisement, universal, but still far away. That day of deliverance will arrive, but it will arrive only when all the oppressed in city and field will rise in a body against their masters. Yes, that great day will come . . . it may take centuries . . . but I shall at least have caught the glamour of its dawn . . . and I shall die happy!"

EPILOGUE.

Two months after the victory of the Commune of Laon over its seigniorial suzerain, the Bishop of Laon, and its episcopals, Fergan the Quarryman died on the ramparts of the city, defending them against the troops of Louis the Lusty. The quarryman's apprehensions had been verified, fully and promptly.

The day after the victory the Mayor, Councilmen and several other leading citizens, convened to consider the dangers of the situation. An attack by Louis the Lusty was expected any moment, nor did any give themselves up to illusions concerning the issue. Left to fight the King single-handed, the citizens of Laon realized that they would be crushed. They decided to seek an ally. One of the most powerful seigneurs of Picardy, Thomas, seigneur of the castle of Marle, known for his bravery, as well as for his ferocity, in which he equalled Neroweg VI., was a personal enemy of the King. Shortly before, in 1108, he had leagued himself with Guy, seigneur of Rochefort, and several other knights, to prevent the King's being consecrated at Rheims. Despite the iniquitous character of Thomas de Marle, and against the advice of Fergan, the Commune of Laon, pressed by danger, made propositions to that seigneur, who was known to have a large force at his command, for an alliance against the King. Thomas de Marle, unwilling to affront the royal power, refused to declare war against the King, but consented, in consideration of a money payment, to receive on his lands all the communiers who stood in fear of the royal vengeance.

A considerable number of insurgents, foreseeing the consequences of a struggle with the King, accepted the offer of Thomas de Marle, and, carrying their valuables with them, left Laon with wife and children. Others, Fergan among them, preferred staying in the city and defending themselves against the King unto death. Although the number of the communiers was reduced by the migrations to the surrounding regions, nevertheless, generous and credulous, the remaining inhabitants of Laon had entered into the pacific overtures of the surviving episcopals, who were laboring under the demoralizing effect of their recent defeat. Soon, however, as the latter realized how greatly the ranks of the communiers were thinned by death, and, above all, by the migrations, they picked up courage. They ordered the serfs of the abbey to meet in the market-place on a given day, and, taking them in command, fell upon the communiers in their own houses. Whoever fell into their hands was put to the sword. Thus, civil war broke out afresh. The serfs pillaged and set on fire all the houses of the bourgeois that they succeeded in capturing. Fergan and Joan, Colombaik and Martine, together with the apprentices of the tanner, entrenched themselves in their house, which, happily fortified, enabled them to sustain victoriously more than one siege to which they were subjected.

During these internal disturbances that decimated still further the ranks of the remaining communiers, Louis the Lusty was busily engaged gathering his forces. Learning that Thomas de Marle was giving asylum on his domains to the inhabitants of Laon, the King first marched against him, ravaged his lands, beseiged him in his fortress of Couchy, took him prisoner, and mulcted him with a heavy ransom. As to the people of Laon, found within the territory of Thomas de Marle, the King had them all sabred or hanged, and their bodies long served as pasture to the birds of brey. A rich butcher of Laon, Robert the Eater, was tied to the tail of a fiery horse, and died the frightful death of the Queen Brunhild, five hundred years before. Through with these bloody executions, Louis the Lusty marched upon Laon. The Mayor and Councilmen, faithful to their oaths of defending the Commune with their lives, ran to the ramparts, together with Fergan, Colombaik and several others of the citizens, to oppose the entrance of the King. At the last battle a large number of the communiers fell on the field, dead or wounded. Fergan was killed, Colombaik was wounded in two places. The defeat of the communiers was inevitable.

The King took the city and placed a new bishop in the seigniory.. But here also the forecast of Fergan proved correct. Thanks to the remembrance of the insurrection and of the just reprisals of the insurgents, the exorbitant privileges of the bishop and noblemen were modified.

Colombaik was not allowed to taste these limited sweets of the heroic defence of Laon. Himself and others, among whom were the Mayor and the Councilmen, too deeply compromised in the insurrection, were banished from the place, and all their property confiscated. But young and full of life as well as of hope for the future and of pride at the past, though ruined, the quarryman's son settled down with his mother and wife, and resumed his trade as a tanner at Toulouse in Languedoc, where, thanks to the local advantages of industry and intelligence, commerce then flourished and, at that season, thought enjoyed freedom.

(The End.)

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1902	53,763

Socialists propose to abolish class hatred by abolishing the economic conditions that breed classes.. How do the capitalists propose to abolish class hatred?

STRAWS AND BEAMS.

Has not the following passage from an anti-Hearst Democratic paper a well-known ring?

"Close observers of the Hearst boom in New Jersey, where the ill-smelling gas is being let out of it at a great rate, remark on the extraordinary collection of hired men who are working for him. They range from absolute nobodies, at the respectable end, down through venal labor leaders, imported ruffians, scrapings of the slums, and employees of the Hearst newspapers. The alliance is natural. To aid such a candidate, the gutters must needs be raked."

Now, compare that with this passage from the "Eighteenth Brumaire," where Marx describes the elements that were gathered by the third Napoleon preparatorily to his coup d'etat:

"Along with ruined roues of questionable means of support and questionable antecedents, along with the foul and adventures-seeking dregs of the bourgeoisie, there were vagabonds, dismissed soldiers, discharged convicts, runaway galley-slaves, sharpers, jugglers, lazzaroni, pickpockets, sleight-of-hand performers, gamblers, procurers, keepers of disorderly houses, porters, literati, organ grinders, rag-pickers, scissors grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, that whole undefined, dissolute, kicked-about mass that the Frenchmen style 'la Boheme.'"

The anti-Hearst capitalist paper winds up its summary with the question:

"Was there ever a movement like it?"

The answer to the question is given by the passage from Marx. There have been such movements before; decidedly so, and that of "Napoleon le Petit" a leading one, and one that most interests us. Of all European nations, France is the one to which we come nearest. Besides her republican form of government—the directness of her history, the unity of her acts, the sharpness that marks her internal development, are all characteristics that find their parallel here best, and vice versa. Given similar conditions, similar if not identical phenomena will be seen.

This William Randolph Hearst may not yet be the American Napoleon, boosted into power by the social refuse of a social system whose staple output is refuse, and that is thus scourged by a whip of its own twisting; but, if not he, then some other William Randolph Hearst will do the "Napoleon le Petit's" trick. Eventually, if not sooner, the President HOG, long prophesied to America, will be inaugurated—unless headed off by the Socialist Revolution.

THE LATEST SWEDENBORGIAN.

From the notice to "all correspondents," given by the editor of the "Railroad Telegrapher," in the February issue of the journal, it appears that a large number of articles concerning Socialism have recently been sent to the editor in question; that he is afraid, both of the articles in favor and the articles against Socialism; and last but not least, that he is innocent enough to imagine Socialism to be a sort of blue-glass fad that can, in any way, be ignored, in other words, he ignores the intimate and indissoluble relation that there is between Socialism and Unionism. We gather as much from the concluding passage in our brilliant contemporary's notice. He closes saying:

"Those engaged in the discussion of Socialism, both for and against it, have written many able articles, and they are cordially invited to continue their contributions to this Department, using as their text any of the many subjects now before the membership and *directly affecting their interests as members of the Order.*"

If the notice is noticed by the correspondents and enforced by the editor of the "Railroad Telegrapher," his journal will be reduced to advertisements, a few pages of "Personal Mention," a very few scraps of "Gleanings," carefully expurgated "Fraternal" or Union items, and the rest of poetry, general literature and art. Even the editor himself would have nothing to write upon, and less to edit.

Can it be thought that the question of wages does not "directly affect the interests of the members"? Of course it does. But how exclude Socialism or anti-Socialism from it? The wages question can not be treated except from one of two sides. Either it is considered as a question that affects the workingman in the same manner that the circulation of the blood affected the Siamese Twins, Chang and Eng, that is, Labor and Capital are brothers, who would both die instanter if either becomes an angel in heaven, in other words, the interests of Labor and Capital are fraternal, or it must be considered as a question that affects the workingman in the same manner that the circulation of the blood affects the horse on whose flank the vampire is batting, that is, Labor is blood-sucked by the Capitalist vampire, in other words, the interests of the two are at variance. If a correspondent take the latter shoot he is talking Socialism; if he take the former shoot, he is talking anti-Socialism. There being no other shoot possible, it follows—overboard with all correspondence, articles, editorials, reports, etc., that handle the question of wages. Seeing, moreover, that there is no economic or political subject that does not branch, or is not itself branched off into that of wages, all these subjects must be dropped—overboard with all.

Shall the journal of the "Railroad Telegraphers" be left a collection of blank leaves? That can hardly be the editor's purpose. We are not ready to believe that his purpose is to throw himself out of a job. Construing this fact jointly with this other that he still calls for articles "directly affecting the members of the Order," what he must have in mind is the interests of the disemboweled members, the members who have left this earthly scene, this terrestrial valleys of mingled joys and tears, and have become seraphs floating around Swedenborg's New Jerusalem, with the editor himself as the Swedenborgian leader of the disemboweled orchestra. On earth, it is Socialism or anti-Socialism; seeing that there is to be allowed none of that in the journal of the Railroad Telegraphers, and still the journal is not to discontinue and throw its editor out of work, there is no choice but to greet the advent—at least the threat of the advent—of the latest Swedenborgian.

THE BURTON CASE.

The conviction of Senator Joseph Ralf Burton of Kansas in the Post Office frauds has passed the stage when the Democratic leaders are jubilant at the "conviction of the Republican party" and the Republican leaders are down-cast at the joy of their Democratic adversaries. The case has passed that stage; at least it has passed the critical period of that opera bouffe stage, and has entered upon a second and more serious one. The second stage is that in which the more long-headed Republican and Democratic leaders draw their long heads together, confer upon the use both, not one side alone, can make of the Burton case to the advantage of their jointly beloved capitalist class.

It is a feature of capitalism that it renders not only labor superfluous but also capitalists. While the privately owned improved machine throws labor out of work, the concentration of establishments leaves a diminishing field for the cadets of the capitalists to "learn the ropes." As to the displaced workingmen—why, let them rot! As to the displaced capitalist class—why, that is something else; they must be taken care of. The capitalist's eyes naturally turn to his government. The personnel of that government increases, whatever may happen with the personnel of private industries. It must increase just because capitalist government is essentially a mailed hand to keep the plundered down; the larger the number of the plundered and the taller the heap of the plunder, all the more extensive (powerful) must that government be. But, now, it so happens that, thanks to the irony of fate, and the boomerang maliciousness of the fiend-deity which is the providence of capitalism, the cost of keeping up that government comes out of the pockets of the capitalist, it comes out of the plunder of labor that he has pocketed. It follows that Mr. Capitalist is sore. His nose is held to the alternative of a cheap and then weak government, too weak to protect his plunder, or a strong and then costly government, too costly to suit him. Out of this dilemma he seeks escape through the Civil Service.

Theoretically the Civil Service Reform movement is correct. Should not culture, rather than ignorance, administer our affairs? But the theory implies equality of opportunities to acquire the needed culture. Without such equality, the theory can not last, it can not even stand a day without the rippings that every day reveal. There is no such equality of opportunities to-day. The examinations may be or may not be fair and equal to all, but unfair and unequal are the opportunities of those who would like to be examined. Only the sons of the capitalists have a show; the sons of the workingmen have none; and the capitalists seek to bar the sons of the workingmen even from the thought of applying for examination by, on the one hand, reducing their opportunities for acquiring culture, and, on the other, raising the standard of the culture required. Indeed, the whole strife between the pro and the anti Civil Service columns is not what either claims, but a strife for jobs. The capitalists see in the Civil Service Reform movement a solution that harmonizes their desire for a strong government with their desire for small expense in keeping it up. If they can place their cadets in the civil service, the point is gained. However high the payroll, it would roll back into the pockets of their own class. Obviously the Burton case gives occasion to beat the cracked drum of Civil Service Reform: Free the Senators and others in office from the pressure of poverty, exercised upon them by their poor constituents who want jobs, get up a hard and fast Civil Service rule and examination to which they can point and the politicians remain pure and the civil service clean—and the capitalist cadets provided for.

That the long-headed Republican and Democratic leaders have put their heads together and jointly pulled the wires of their press is appearing from many an article on Burton denoting that the case has entered its second stage.

THE WHYNESS OF LONG'S WHEREFORE.

Nothing is needed but a good quantity of lack of information by the workingmen on the interests of their own class in order to have the rank weed of the labor misleader, or fakir, to shoot up in their midst. The present tribulations of the lithographers with their "President" Long is a case in point; and the case even proves more; it proves that under proper conditions the labor misleader can even become brazen in his work of misleading.

The issue just now with the lithographers is whether they shall submit their grievances to "arbitration." Everybody who knows anything of the labor question knows that the word "arbitration" is a misnomer when applied to Capital and Labor. Arbitration implies equality between the parties to the transaction; they must be peers. If they are not that "arbitration" between them is impossible, and the word can only be used as a cloak for fiendish purposes; between parties that are not peers, "arbitration" is simply a tying of the hands of the inferior in the interest of the superior party, so that the latter may lay on the lash more heavily under the semblance of the latter's consent. Capital and Labor (even if the Labor be artist Labor) are not peers. The former is master, the latter is slave —an article of merchandise, whose price depends upon its price in the market, the same as any other merchandise, but a merchandise that, being human, can give trouble, and must be humored, narcotized, dust thrown into its eyes to make the life of its master easier and his work of plundering smoother. "Arbitration" is one of these narcotics, and dusts.

It goes without saying that "President" Long, if not openly, then secretly, favors "arbitration"—as the employers are pushing for. And "President" Long knows what he is about. Only recently, the brewers of this vicinity were trepanned by their labor misleaders into contracts with their employers that place heavier burdens upon the rank and file, and that tie their hands by reason of just the arbitration clause that the contract provides for. How that clause works the rank and file of the brewers are finding out. That moreover, "President" Long knows just what he is about on the matter, that there is no room for doubt as to his full knowledge of the trap he is trying to lead the lithographers into, is evidenced by the praises which he has recently been bestowing upon the "Volkszeitung."

The rank and file of the brewers are at this very time coming forward with denunciations of the "Volkszeitung," and they back up their charges with documentary proof. They show that, bribed by brewers' advertisements, the "Volkszeitung" "battled heroically for labor" by giving only the labor fakirs among the brewers who were holding up the employers' side, room in its columns, and suppressing the objections of the rank and file during the troubles that ripened in the present iniquitous contracts, which, among other things, provide for "arbitration." The iniquities of the "Volkszeitung" in this its latest sell out of Labor are just now the subject of the indignation of the brewery workingmen, and of extensive articles and comments by them. Can there be any mistake as to the whyness of the wherefore "President" Long has not bouquets enough to shower upon the Social Democratic "Volkszeitung?" Hardly!

There is nothing to arbitrate between Labor and Capital. So long as the capitalist system exists, the latter is master and tyrant. Labor's only course is to organize economically so tightly on its own class lines that it may be able to offer some resistance to the encroachments of the capitalist class and thereby give no chance for fakirs to feather their own nests, and at the same time organize politically under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, that seeks to dislodge the capitalist class from its principal fastness, the political power, and that accordingly has no room in its ranks for such privately owned papers as the "Volkszeitung," run for peesiness at the cost of Labor's hide.

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A Baltimore despatch says that "an innovation in the burned district will be the installation of a machine for cleaning and piling bricks. The machine, which will be operated by an eight horse-power gasoline engine, will be erected on the premises 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24 and 26 East Lombard street, owned or controlled by the Safe Deposit & Trust Co.

"Contractor E. W. Read has charge of the installation of the machine, which, it is said, will do the work with neatness and dispatch, and at a great saving over the old method of cleaning and piling the bricks by hand.

"Permission has been granted by the building inspector to erect the machine, and it is expected that it will be in operation in a few days."

It goes without saying that this "innovation" in brick cleaning and piling, will not be an "innovation" beneficial to the laborers displaced by it. There is only one innovation in the matter of machinery, whether automatic, or otherwise, which will prove beneficial to them, and that is an innovation in the forms of its ownership. With machinery owned, as at present, for the profit of the capitalist, the welfare of the worker is not considered. With machinery owned by society and operated for use, the main consideration will be the worker. As machinery develops, his hours of labor will be decreased and his earnings increased. Machinery will then be a blessing instead of a curse, as at present.

Last week newspapers contained, among other chronicles of misfortune and misery, the following:

"Near the close of the first day's work he had been able to secure in weeks Michael Farley, a derrickman, forty years old, died yesterday afternoon at the new Colonial apartment house, in course of construction at Eighty-first street and Columbus avenue, from exhaustion, the result of starvation. During the day he told other workmen that for two days he had nothing to eat except several crusts of bread, but he worked hard and did his work well."

And this:

"On the verge of death from starvation, Moses Silverstein, eighteen years old, a machinist, was taken from Twenty-ninth street and Sixth avenue to the New York Hospital by Dr. Erskine.

"For the last three days, Silverstein says, he has taken absolutely no food. He could not find work, his money was gone, all his extra clothing pawned and he had no friends or relatives to whom to appeal."

What are we coming to? In barbarism the members of a tribe were insured against hunger, so long as food was to be had. But our boasted civilization, owing to its private ownership of capital, permits the anxious worker to starve amid abundance. We talk about the danger of reverting to barbarism, but have we not already reached a worse state?

A favorite headline with capitalist newspapers reads: "Ultimatum Delivered to Unions." There would be nothing unusual about this headline were it not that these same newspapers continually prate about "the brotherhood of capital and labor." It certainly does appear somewhat unique, to say the least, to know that the deliverance of ultimatums is a characteristic of brotherhood. It was generally believed that ultimatums are indicative of warfare.

THE BLUFF CALLED

Last Monday, March 28, in Part I of the City Court before Judge Conlan, the case of "Isaac Hourwitch against Daniel De Leon" for libel was called up and thrown out of court.

The history of this case was as follows:

On November 12, 1897, the Editor of The People delivered an address in Boston at Wells Memorial Hall under the auspices of the then reorganized Jewish Section of the Socialist Labor Party. A peculiar set of Jews, the same kind of people whom the leader of the Russian Socialist Movement has had to handle in Europe, and whom he well dubbed the "Judeasters"—a set of men whose leading characteristics are insolence, corruption and ignorance, and the conceit that such Jews as they must run things, with the rest of the world "sitting at their feet," an element wholly unfit in the Socialist ranks—that set had tried to run things in the S. L. P., in Boston among other places, and were promptly fired out of the Party, whose decent Jews forthwith re-organized themseves, in Boston as elsewhere. Such were the circumstances under which the address of Nov. 12, 1897, was delivered, and it was published in The People of the following December 19. The purpose of the address being to warn workingmen in general, the Jewish in particular, against the machinations of people of their own special nationalities, who use the trades unions—among the Jewish workingmen, the clothing trades in particular—as means to pluck the workers, the address contained this passage:

"We have in New York a Cloakmakers' Union. That organization consists essentially of the Anarchist Barondess and his disreputable cronies. With the assistance of the gutter snipe capitalist reporters, the business firm—it is nothing short of a business firm—of Barondess & Co. keeps itself before the public. How does this 'firm' subsist? Disagreements between the cloakmakers and their bosses are frequent. At every such time the men naturally seek aid from some organization. The only one in their trade is Barondess'; the information is kept before their eyes by the gutter-snipe reporters very much like Jacob kept up peeled rods before Laban's ewes. The men go thither; to be listened to they must 'become members,' or, to put it plainer, they must pay dues. There is your revenue, until the next trouble breaks out, bringing a new windfall.

"At such times, always with the assistance of the gutter-snipe reporters, the papers are filled with the 'heroic efforts' of the Cloakmakers' Union to 'wipe out the sweating system.' This furnishes another stream of revenue to the precious firm. The stirring stories touch the hearts of credulous old and philanthropic ladies. These rush forward with various sums, that, of course, are placed in the hands of the 'Committee.' A fierce campaign is waged, in the papers, against the sweat-shops. The farce cannot be continued forever:

The philanthropic ladies must see some results. Suddenly we are informed, again through the zeal of the gutter-snipe reporters, that 'The Sweating System is Abolished.' When the 'firm' believes that the public has forgotten all about this 'victory,' the farce is started all over anew. The sweat-shops, just abolished, are to be abolished once more; and thus the swindle is perenially repeated. (Laughter and applause.)

"More recently, kindred 'firms' have enlarged their business by adding to it a new 'department'—a Legal Department. Some unconscionable adventurer, a little clever than his unfortuante fellow countrymen—most of these cloakmakers are Russian Jews—settles down as an additional vampire upon these poor men and exploit their racial bonds. Birds of a feather flock together. The Labor Fakirs' 'firms' and these shyster lawyers make common cause. If a strike does not come on of its own accord, it is instigated. The sweat-shop is once more to be 'abolished.' For its 'abolition' the men are cheated into the belief that 'contracts' are necessary and binding. The shyster is introduced as a benefactor, overflowing with charity. He is engaged to draw up the 'contracts'—to the tune of $2 apiece. (Laughter.) He philanthropically promises to 'contribute' 50 cents on each contract to the Union. Several hundred 'contracts'—not worth the paper on which they are written—are drawn up, signed and delivered. My shyster forgets all about his promise; pockets the whole fee, perhaps, probably, 'goes divvy' with his pals, the fakirs, and the sweat-shops are once more abolished (laughter) until the impecuniosity of this rascal gang instigates a new strike, and the sweat-shop is to be 'abolished' once more. Is such an organization a 'Union'? Is it not rather a compact of brigands preying on the unfortunate proletariat? (Loud applause.)"

Upon publication of the address, one Isaac Hourwitch—a gentleman whose horizon is bounded by his own imaginary importance, but who does not disdain to seek to improve his imaginary renommee by some self, and, as in this instance, injudicious, advertising—wrote an "open letter" to the Editor of The People, through the columns of a notoriously disreputable Yiddish paper, the "Judeaster" "Vorwarts." The "open letter" was in English, or alleged English; Mr. Hourwitch therein pronounced himself libeled by the address, threw some bouquets at himself, and demanded to submit the issue to a "court of honor." The open letter was of course ignored. Thereupon Mr. Hourwitch brought two libel suits, one against the Board of Directors of the Volkszeitung Corporation—that then was the publisher of The People—and one against the paper's Editor, who, besides having told the truth in the address, printed the same in the paper. Boiled down to its essence, Mr. Hourwitch's complaint, which was identical in the two cases, was that not a living soul in the country, not a cat, dog or rat in the East Side in general, in the land in particular, but knew him and of him, and followed in wrapt minuteness his majestic career, and that the cap could not possibly, under any imaginable circumstances, fit any but his own illustrious head.

Soon after the two suits were brought, the Kangaroo riot took place, and the S. L. P. discontinued to publish The People through the Volkszeitung Corporation. In very little time after that Mr. Hourwitch discontinued his suit against the Corporation, and the corporation's papers were indecent enough to announce the fact in a way that amounted to trying to stab the Editor of The People in the back. They pretended to give "inside information."

Neither the bluff of the suit nor the indecency of the Volkszeitung Corporation had its desired effect. The only remaining defendant was anxious for a trial. Not so the plaintiff. Strange as it might seem, the gentleman who claimed his "honor was sullied and put under a cloud" not only showed no anxiety to dispel the cloud and restore his honor to its quondam virgin purity, he dodged the trial. On his motion the trial was postponed from term to term. Finally, however, the artful dodger was cornered. And what did he do, when he realized that he was not going to be allowed to slip away again? He proposed to discontinue the case without costs, that is to say, to call the case off and escape the payment of the cost. The answer was a prompt—NO! The defendant was not to be caught in the trap of allowing the matter to take a turn that looked like a "settlement,"—The People does not libel any one; whatever it says deliberately it is ready to stand for. After Mr. Hourwitch had for all these years been going about bragging that he had "clapped a libel suit upon The People," and that he was going to do this and that and the other "as soon as he got the verdict," which he was "sure to get," etc., etc.,—after all that the gentleman was to be held with his nose to the grindstone. Moreover, it was necessary to give warning to the Hourwitches, of whom there are not a few, that they are not going to be allowed to use the courts for bluff and bluster; if they resort to the courts they must pay the piper. The People will not allow its decent name to be even indirectly smirched.—"NO!" was the answer, "WE ARE READY FOR YOU." The case was called up; a last frantic effort was made for postponement; it was this time successfully resisted; and when the case was called up for actual trial, the defendant answered "Ready!" but the plaintiff was not to be seen or found. The most diligent search under chairs and tables and behind doors of the whole court-house gave no token. There was no trace of the plaintiff, the hero, who was to "settle the wrongs done by The People to so many innocent and worthy gentlemen"—and the case was thrown out with costs.

And thus ends the first libel suit ever attempted against the organ of the Socialist Labor Party—whose answer to all threats of libel suits, and the charges it makes are numerous and definite enough, ever has been and remains: "We shall retract not one word; we stand by what we say; sue away, we are ready for you!"

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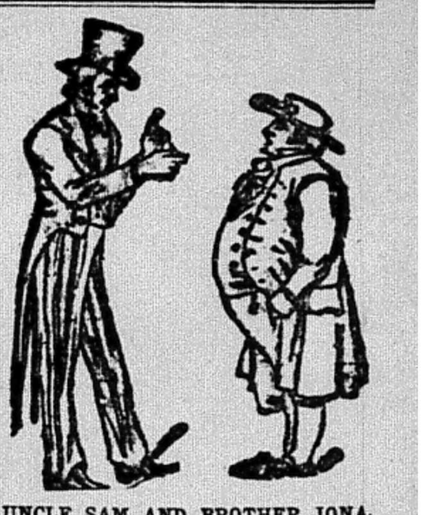
"The Labor Legislative News," organ of the "'labor' lobby" at Albany, announces that "not one labor measure has been passed by the Legislature yet." As the "'labor' lobby" has had thirty-nine bills introduced, this is certainly a good record. It proves beyond cavil that "the legislative influence of organized labor" is something stupendous.

The railroad world is filled with admiration for a president who is "cutting down the salary list without materially affecting the operation of the road." This is a stunt that the railroad presidents have been performing for years. How beautifully it works the increasing number of collisions and other disaste[illegible]ainly show.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (shaking his head dolefully and sighing to match)—'Tis sad, 'tis sad!

UNCLE SAM—Has the pest broken out among your friends and carried them all off?

B. J.—That would be sad enough; but what I sigh over is, me seems, sadder still. (More sighs and more doleful shakings of the head.)

U. S.—Tell me all about it, old boy; I may be able to give you consolation.

B. J. (looking enraged)—YOU? Consolation from YOU? Why, you are as bad as any of them, if not the worst of the lot.

U. S.—Come! Come!!

B. J.—I'll show you. I have just seen THE PEOPLE. In it are these words: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

U. S.—Isn't that all right?

B. J.—I should say it WAS all right, but not in a Socialist Labor Party paper.

U. S.—Hey! ?!

B. J. (angry)—No; not in an S. L. P. paper! You Socialists don't act as if you want to unite the workingmen. You fight everything. One set of workingmen want free trade, and, hang you, you have to quarrel with them; another set expresses itself in favor of protection, and you fall like a pile of bricks on them. (Angrier) If other honest workers set up parties for free silver, gold or anti-trust, there you are jumping on 'em. (Still angrier.) If some good intentioned people organize an "Armory Party," why, you begin to throw mud at them. You won't go together with anybody, and you try to smash up everything. You jump upon everybody with hammer and tongs. You call that "uniting" the working class?

U. S.—Through?

B. J.—Yes, I am through.

U. S.—What's the matter with you is that you can't read English.

B. J.—I can't? Can't I?

U. S.—Exactly. You don't know what "unite" means.

B. J.—I don't? It means to bring together.

U. S.—And you understand by the command to bring the workingmen together that they CAN be brought and kept together on any issue?

B. J.—Why, certainly, simply bring them together.

U. S.—See here. You are quite a shot, I know.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Now, if you set a platoon of soldiers aiming at a target, which are the shots that will come together?

B. J.—Those that hit the bull's-eye.

U. S.—Just so. And what shots will hit the bull's-eye?

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Those that are aimed correctly.

U. S.—Correct! If you want to have a lot of bullets fall together, they must be shot correctly. If so shot, they hit the same mark; if not correctly shot, they will fall apart. Accident may bring one, or two, or a few more together, but those will fall apart from the bulk, and the bulk of them will fall apart from one another. Bull's-eye is one spot, there the correctly shot ones unite; the whole immensity of space is there for the others and there will be as many spots hit by them as there are different spots in space. So with men. To come together, to be united, they must unite on what is right and correct. There is but one correct thing on which to unite. On an incorrect thing there is no unity possible, because the incorrect things are as numerous as the spots in space that wrongly aimed bullets may hit. Furthermore, to "come together" is of no use unless one can "keep together." Error is so numerous that unity upon it is absurd. When, therefore, the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the workingmen to unite it cannot mean that they should come together on error. Socialists know that enough men cannot unite on an error, let alone stay together. THE great scatterer of the workingman is, therefore, not the S. L. P. man who points out the right point and methods; the scatterer is he who fails to learn "how to shoot," who interferes with those who are teaching this art, and who hewls "unite," "unite," while he is, in fact, knowingly and unknowingly, keep-

(Continued on Page 6.)

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

PARIS COMMUNE LECTURE IN ONTARIO.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The lecture which took place here on the evening of the 18th inst. in commemoration of the Paris Commune, from the standpoint of its historic value to the working class, coupled with an entertaining program of songs, recitations, and instrumental music, proved to be one of the most successful and educative events for the working class which Section London has rendered for some years.

The audience which graced the hall in Duffield Block on this first effort of Section London in their new quarters was, from the standpoint of numbers and working class representation, very gratifying. It augurs well for the success of Socialist propaganda on this old battle ground, and was in every respect a cheering event to the statements of the Section.

The lecturer of the evening, Comrade F. Haselgrove, entered into the spirit of this ever-stirring theme with even more than his usual enthusiasm and eloquence. The lucid manner and fervor of the speaker was responded to with much appreciation by his working class audience; of whom not a few were women. Each point of the ever memorable tale was duly turned to the best possible account by present-day local or national illustration, bringing home to the workers the class conscious conviction that the capitalist class in all countries, times and manner, are the logical and natural foes of the best interests of the working class. That this page of history was but one shoot, one from the ever-growing record of cruelty and bloodshed which is daily being written by the hand of the capitalist class. The point was made abundantly clear, that until Socialism writes the word "Finis," and closes for ever this volume of crime and wrong, it will continue to be the history of industrial oppression, and social anarchy, recording the misdeeds of the human race.

Each one present seemed to catch the inspiration that the Socialist Republic is not an uncertainty in the hazy future, but an imminent possibility within the measurable distance of the living generation.

Credit is due the lecture committee for the admirable arrangements made for this lecture, and also to Comrade Weitzal, chairman, for his able management in the carrying out of the program. D. R.

London, Ontario, March 2.

A VILLIFIER EXPOSES HIMSELF.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The enclosed correspondence will show who it is that carries on a campaign of slander against working class organization. The "narrow" S. L. P. or the "broad" Socialist (?) party. Note the attempt of this kangaroo to villify the good name of the Socialist Labor Party. Fraternally, FRANK F. YOUNG.

Buffalo, N. Y., March 27.

I.

Buffalo, N. Y., March 6, 1904.

Louis Goaziou, Charleroi, Pa.:

Dear Sir—In the Erie People issue of last week I observed the following statements made by you:

"After the lecture, under the pretenses of asking a few questions, a rank De Leonite made an ass of himself and had to leave the hall, followed by hoots of disgust of the entire assemblage. This champion of De Leonism is the same fellow that the Pittsburg Coal Company would not discharge last year, notwithstanding the fact that the Red Bird miners struck for five days against working with him. Since that time he has been working in a little mine above Belle Vernon, and there he has again been guilty of loading a free turn."

Now, sir, Mr. Goaziou, my object in addressing you is, first to ascertain if by De Leonite you mean a member of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States and Canada?

Second, I would that you furnish me with the evidence concerning the actions of the person in question.

If you are desirous of presenting the truth to a wageslave you will comply with such a modest request. Hoping to receive an early reply, I remain, yours truly, FRANK F. YOUNG.

442 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y.

II.

Charleroi, Pa., March, 9, 1904.

Mr. F. F. Young, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Dear Sir—Your favor of the 6th received and noted. Whether the man in question is a member in good standing of your party I could not tell. All I know is that he claims to be a member; and the other gentleman who was with him, who had followed the "logical centrist," said he was not a member of any party now. As to the statements concerning his actions they are all facts. Your truly, LOUIS GOAZIOU.

A CINCH FOR OHIO GRAFTERS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Readers of The People will doubtless be interested to know that politics has got into the union with a vengeance in this city, according to the reports of the local papers.

In the newspapers of the 25th inst. there is reported, with a great blow of trumpet, the organization of a Hearst League—the organization was started by the representatives of nine unions. Labor Fakir E. J. Bracken of "The Newswriters' Union," formerly of the Lathers' Union, was elected president.

This move, which seemed to be lead by one Peter Deinbart of Chicago, is on account of Hearst being a friend of labor, as if it was something unusual for labor to have friends instead of being its own friend. But, in this instance, according to the reported address of Bracken, "union labor has found its staunchest friend" in this labor skinner, Hearst.

The reason given by Bracken why the unions should especially rally to Hearst is that he is a practical man and has shown that "great industries can be run upon a strictly union basis and be made to pay the investor fair profits." This statement, if made by a Mitchell or Gompers, would not be a matter to excite comment, but in this fakir Bracken we have a man who a few years ago was believed to be an honest man and one that would die for the Socialist movement, but his relations with the pure and simple unions have carried him to the lowest depths of degradation, and even his recent pretended indignation at the action of the Boston A. F. of L. convention in its disposal of the "Socialist" resolution stamps him anew as being beyond redemption.

This, perhaps unusual activity of the fakirs in organizing so early, I may be explained by the fact that they have been ruthlessly hit by the action of the State Legislature in abolishing spring elections in Ohio; all elections by the terms of the Chapman law will in the future be in the fall. This change in holding elections must be a hard stroke to all kinds of fakirs and grafters. The newspapers, preachers and all kinds of people waxed wrathful, but to no avail. The attitude of "the people's representatives" was "the people be damned." As no Socialist, so far as I have learned, has deprecated the action, I take it that they shed no tears over an action that merges all questions in more general elections; but local "moralists" and all who emphasize the importance of local matters are severely knocked out in great shape, and Ohio is in the lead in spelling Nation with a big "N!" Whether the wiseacres understood this or not I think it is not an occasion for Socialists to shed tears. But this is a blow to the fakir and grafter. Only having election come around once a year is surely a long time to wait. Hence the people at large may not be surprised if Willie's boom grows to great proportions in Ohio at an early day—for the fakirs are dying for a field of activity. O. F.

Columbus, O., March 27, 1904.

CONDITION IN COLORADO SPRINGS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—In reference to getting a middle-class person interested in the Socialist movement, or one with middle-class ideas, especially the first, I for one, from considerable experience, am willing that the freaks shall practice on them. I consider it wasted energy to even talk to them in a courteous manner.

This is surely one of the most freakish towns in the country. The great majority of men one meets with here owns or partially owns a home. A very large percentage of the men and women that have been here from three years and upward have some mining or oil stock, Some have mining claims and all fully expect to get to the front in the particular trade or business they are engaged in, which is equivalent to saying they have a lottery ticket with no date set for the drawing to come off.

I interviewed a high school cadet a short time since, who I understood was inclined to be a Socialist. I asked him to take The People and he told me that papa and mamma understood all about the movement, that they had taken "The Appeal" a long time. He is now out with the troops at Trinidad.

The "Socialists" elected one Dr. Sonenstene as delegate to their National Convention. If the representatives of that party are as intelligent throughout the country as the ones here, I will say that no comrade should miss attending that convention, for it will be a circus sure enough that will pay one to go quite a distance to attend.

The "Socialists" that I have interviewed are sore over the Carey meetings. He talked here twice and made clear-cut S. L. P. talks, but the "Socialists" don't like that. They like sentimentalism. One said that Carey did not get them one single member and they went into debt about $25 for him. They paid him $15, but the demand was $15 for one and $25 for two talks. I suppose they compromised with him.

A capable writer could write volumes about this city and the doings of the different labor organizations, political grafters, fraternal lodges and middle-class men that class themselves in with the supposed self-styled millionaires of which, since the death of Stratton, I doubt if there has ever one lived here. These freaks never stop to think or seem to realize what a million is. They talk of millions as glib as children do of pennies. Fraternally,

A Colorado Wage Slave.

Colorado Springs, Col., March 27.

THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The question of ways and means of enlarging the circulation of the paper which stands for the true interests of the working class, The Weekly People, is one of paramount importance to the Socialist Labor Party.

Now, to my mind, the question resolves itself into two heads, how to get subscribers and how to keep them when once obtained, and I shall deal with them in the order in which they stand.

If the circulation of The Weekly People is to reach the position which it ought to occupy it is absolutely necessary that each member, man or woman, of the organization realize that it is his or her duty to obtain subscribers for The People, and it can be done in one way only, by canvassing steadily, not intermittantly, and in no other way. Now some members might say, "That's all right, if you have days off;" but it is not carried on in the daytime. In the evening, when the worker is at home he can be found setting on the doorsteps or around the house, and can be easily approached and glad to have something to talk about. In this way, I am certain, if the work is performed as it should be there will be a different tale to tell in circulation.

How to keep them when secured is of very great importance, the renewing or dropping off acts as a sort of barometer, it tells us how the worker has profited by reading The People. If he subscribes again we conclude he sees the point, if not he is still in the land of dreams and in that condition tells us that something has been wanting before The People was placed in his hands, and I believe that "something" can be laid down as lack of reading the literature of the S. L. P. Now the revolutionary socialist movement, which finds its expression in the S. L. P., is not sugar-coated, like the "socialism" dished out by the "Social Democrats" of the United States and "Socialist" party of Canada. It, the movement, as exemplified by the S. L. P., requires close study and proper initial grounding in the principles and tactics of the party. Have we the means whereby the working class can obtain that knowledge? Yes. I think that the literature of the S. L. P. placed in the hands of the worker will work a revolution in his brain, and thereby enable him to see the abject position he occupies under the capitalistic system of production, and, at the same time, cause him to realize that the only way to emancipation from wage-slavery lies in the organization which stands for the interests of the wage-working class, the Socialist Labor Party.

The question of an organizer being sent out by the party is bound up in activity of members of the sections. If the members are sleepy and show no desire to get "The Weekly" into the hands of the working class, well, they need a few rude jolts themselves before they will be able to give the organizer that support which, if his work is to be of any benefit, he is entitled to.

In conclusion, comrades, I say push the sale of the pamphlets "What Means This Strike," "Reform and Revolution," "The Four Kautskys," "Two Pages From Roman History" and "Value, Price and Profit," and if, for example, 600 subscribers are secured in a week 200 of them won't drop off when the time for renewal comes round.

Comrades: On with the circulation of The Daily and Weekly People, and let its circulation be no longer a bugbear to the party. Such is the wish of, yours fraternally, JAMES M. REID.

Toronto, Can., March, 29.

P. S.—I would have liked to say something relative to The Daily People but space will allow me to say just this, let every member who can subscribe for The Daily, it will amply repay him in every way.

QUESTIONS FOR THE COMING CONVENTION.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The time has come, it appears to me, when the questions now before the Party, and which must necessarily come up for consideration in the coming convention, should be seriously discussed by the rank and file. The work of a convention of such a Party as ours should be simply to put into definite form and proclaim officially the principles and the policy which the membership have come to hold. The Party members can best instruct themselves by discussion and debate in these columns.

As the comrades of Michigan have honored me by electing me a delegate, I wish to make a few suggestions. They are offered less in the expectation of informing others than in the hope of being set right myself if I am wrong.

1. The N. E. C. should be altered. The Party has now gotten beyond the period when comrades resident in a single city can best direct the administration of so closely organized an institution as the S. L. P. of the United States. The present form of the N. E. C. has never been more than a temporary makeshift, designed to carry on the work until a more representative administration might be provided.

But the change should be made with great care. The plan advanced by Section New York seems to me to be too ambitious for present conditions. Representatives from twenty or more States simply cannot meet once a month at the Party's expense until our strength has at least trebled. Think of the effort it will take to have a full delegation attend the National Convention. Two-fifths of such an effort each month would keep us busy raising funds for that alone. I propose a N. E. C. of seven members, apportioned as follows: New York City, 3; Massachusetts (Boston preferred), 1; Ohio (Cleveland), 1; Illinois (Chicago), 1; Pennsylvania (Philadelphia or Pittsburg), 1. These members should be nominated by the respective State committees (or city Sections), and voted for as hitherto. For bi-weekly or monthly meetings four members should form a quorum; but every three months a general attendance should be insisted upon at which six members should constitute a quorum. This would permit the whole committee to review the administration of the Party, outline work, and transact the more important business. Of course all members should attend at any time when the affairs of the Party might demand especial attention. Traveling expenses only should be born by the Party.

2. The Party should be represented at the International Congress. Of course there are a host of compromisers, blunderbusses and seslf-seekers in the large European organizations. There are always a few in our own devoted S. L. P. The Socialistic Kangaroo, unlike the harmless Australian quadruped, thrives in all climes and multiplies like mice. They will be at the Congress. But so also will be the brigade of sledge-hammer revolutionists. When our comrades, who stand for our working class principles in Europe, look around and size up their strength, let us not by our absence force them to say, "We expected help from North America, but they have been found wanting." We should send such a representative of the S. L. P. to Europe as will insure the performance of our full duty to the international movement.

3. The Party Press. I have heard some honest murmurs. But, comrades, let us place the blame where it belongs and kick ourselves. Our undivided attention should be given to matters which require it. I, for one, solemnly promise to spend at least two hours a week after April 1, in canvassing for subscriptions. Will five hundred others not do the same? Five hundred subscribers a week for the "Weekly People," and then who will have anything to say about the Party Press?

Most fraternally yours,

Frank Bohn.

Ann Arbor, Mich., March 27.

LIFE IN HOT SPRINGS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—As it may be of some interest to the readers of our paper who may want to come here for treatment, I write the following description of Hot Springs, Arkansas. The town is situated in a ravine about a mile in length and branching out at both ends. Two railroads enter the town. The town is frequented by deformed cripples, beggars, gamblers, politicians and the rotten rich who come here to have the effects of their dissipation and debauchery boiled out of them. Board can be had for $4 a week and upward. Rooms, $2 a week and upward. Baths can be had at all prices, from the government free baths to the private and licensed baths, which give 21 baths, with attendance, for $6 and upward.

Everything political here is democratic, even to the black cat. The Democrats are holding a primary throughout the State for State officers. They have a sheet printed in Little Rock called the "'Arkansas Democrat." I don't know if it is known outside of the county in which it is printed. There is another sheet called "'The Arkansas Tom Cat." This is not a satire on the "Democrat," but a sporting paper, which also makes a specialty of reporting hotel arrivals.

To see an Arkansas farmer is quiet a sight. The plutocrats from the North and the East are amused at him. They give him a dollar to stand for his photo.

Labor here is very cheap. It is mostly all colored. It just about gets enough to exist. Tom Dougherty.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Hot Springs, Ark., March 26.

A LABOR CONTRACTOR FOR RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—To be a labor contractor for railroad telegraphers at an average wage of $45 per month, 12 hours each day, may be a cheap job for President H. B. Perham of St. Louis; but coupled with his faculty of leading the fighting spirit of his dupes into the ground on every occasion it may make it more lucrative. Or, even as some of his kin in the A. F. of L. this worthy may have political "gift" aspiration bees in his bonnet, where there is plenty of room.

"Hank" has whispered "Peace, be still!" to the troubled waters of O. R. Tism in its monthly journal. Inasmuch as they have been organizing for the last three months for shorter hours and minimum on the Woolsely plan, "peace" when they expected to be ready for action seems fishy.

Harmony between capital and labor that "Hank" spoke of when he knocked "Woolsey" in the head a year ago at the Jersey City meeting has resulted in only those officials being allowed in the order whom the company does not object to—"Jo Jo," the New York division Pennsylvania Railroad man, for instance.

In the March "Telegrapher" is the same Jo Jo whom the company got to leave the O. R. T. in '92 when the question of no rights and leave came up, and history repeats itself.

The Western committeemen of the Erie are busy trying to infuse a little ginger into the Eastern men who headed off the grievances resulting in the company giving the overworked owls a heart to heart talk. The result was that the Western men returned to their homes bitter in defeat.

These men of the Meadville, Mahoning, Cincinnati, Lima and W. B. & E. divisions have but themselves to blame if they stand for what the Eastern men do—to back up the company—as defined in the October Telegrapher.

Workers, outside of a chance for a few grafters there is nothing in sight for you for a few years to come, until labor unites.

Join the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance which votes as it strikes—for the Socialist Labor Party which stands at all times for the abolition of wage slavery and the ushering in of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

A. J. BOLAND.

3033 Boulevard, Jersey City, N. J.

NEW YORK HAS FORTY-THREE CANDIDATES.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I do not know, or at least do not remember, on what sort of arguments the provision was fixed, that the delegates to the national convention have to be nominated in the month of January, and that the date of the convention shall be fixed by the N. E. C., but this much I do know, that said provisions do not work satisfactorily in Connecticut at present. In this State, we practically have none to represent us at the convention, because of these provisions.

According to a provision of the constitution none of us know when the convention will be called, but judging from precedent, it is assumed that it will be called either in the month of June of July, and, if so, the nominations for delegates are about half a year ahead of the time of assembling.

Considering the great extent of territory of the United States, this time is too long, according to the way I look at it, for very few, if any, wageworkers know even approximately how or where they will be situated six months hence, and, therefore, as honest men, will or cannot accept any position of which they are in doubt of their ability to fulfill it.

The average condition of an up-to-date wageslave, is so thoroughly precarious and uncertain that it really borders on arrogant assumption to assert with any degree of certainty how things will be one or two months hence, not to mention six months, or even a year. From this point of view, therefore, said provisions should be changed so that first, the time of nominating be made as short as possible and second, that the date of the convention be fixed in advance.

Mostly all trades and vocations have certain periods in the year when business is brisk or slack. Generally, a workman cannot afford to leave the shop when business is brisk, lest he may jeopardize his job, but, if the date of the convention is known in advance, arrangements may be effected to enable such a man to be a delegate to the convention.

There is no lack of candidates or delegates to the convention in the State of Connecticut, but all have declined substantially saying that they do not feel sure that they will be able to attend at an uncertain date. Thus, we are without even a candidate to the national convention, and expecting no other results by another call the S. E. C. may decide to leave the matter to decide for the State convention, to be held May 30.

FRED. FELLERMANN.

Hartford, Conn., May 22.

ELIAS HAIRE.

Robert W. Haire of Aberdeen, South Dakota, in a letter to The People annouces the death of his brother, Elias Haire, of Hazleton, Mich., Socialist Labor Party presidential elector for Michigan in 1900. Haire died last November 14th. He was 47 years of age at the time. His brother concludes his letter thusly: "A good S. L. P. man has rested."

WOMEN OF AMERICA!

Do You Know the Cause of Your Husband's Low Wages, and Your Children's Lack of Schooling?

Do you know what man has done? Do you know why a man can't support his home now as well as when you were young? Do you know why wives and mothers in the working class don't live in nice houses in a nice part of the cities, surrounded by nice lawns or gardens? Do you know why your coal bins are not full? Do you know why your pantries are not filled with food? Do you know why your clothes closets are empty? Do you know why children must be kept at home from school for lack of clothes? Do you know why you must go to the beds of young children and rudely awaken them in the morning to go to the factory or other work? Do you know why your husband's wages are not steady? Do you know why you are surprised when the butcher tells you meat has gone up? Or flour, or potatoes, or—and, in fact, everything that you have to buy in the managing of your home? Do you know why?

Do you know that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" touched women's hearts, creating sympathy for the poor slave? Do you know that Socialism is the message of emancipation to the wage slave? Do you know that women caused the votes to be cast in the interest of the slaves? Don't you know that capitalism does for you what slavery did for the negro? Don't you know that the vote of your husband, father, son or brother has given your rights away to the capitalist class? Do you know that The Weekly People should be in every family? Do you know that housekeepers should study it, then teach its doctrines to the family? Do you know that a knowledge of Socialism will cause men to vote for their class interest?

Women of America, never turn a canvasser for The Weekly People away empty. The Weekly People costs 50 cents for one year or 25 cents for six months, by mail. Its contents answer all these questions, and tells how to abolish strikes, lockouts, idleness and want, to overthrow capitalism and give employment to all, and to all the full product of their labor. Fraternally,

R. Berdan.

Paterson, N. J., March 30, 1904.

* * *

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

G. S., BUFFALO, N. Y.—There is nothing to be done but to sue the farmer who refuses to pay the wages—and that only step may be foolish if it would cost more to collect the debt than the debt amounts to. This is but one of many incidents that prove the falseness of the theory that all our people are 'equal before the law." The workingman is not the capitalist's equal. His poverty prevents him from hauling the matter before the law.

E. H. E., CELINA, O.—If we understand correctly the meaning of "your terms you correctly understood the meaning of "confiscation." The termis handled in the second of "Two Pages from Roman History." Get the pamphlet. If still in doubt, call again.

D. J., CINCINNATI, O.—We hold in our possession the letters of the national office of the Brewers' Union, admitting that Valentine Wagner was wronged by No. 1 and also admiting that the national officers are impotent in New York against No. 1., that is against the miscreants who run the union by selling out to the boss brewers. Several of the letters are signed b ythe national sec'y Zorn.

J. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The gentleman's antecedents are these in a nutshell: He got up contracts, that were not worth the paper on which they were written between employers and workingmen in the garment or clothing trades generally, and was paid for this "work"—$2 a contract. His name then was Moses Hilkowitz, and he lived downtown. After making a good rake, or "original accumulation," he dived under the waters and remained out of sight for quite a while, until he re-appeared again away up-town under the name of Morris Hilquit.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, LOUISVILLE, KY.—The old copy from the "Labor Journal" has not turned up, and we have not yet been supplied with a new copy. Get one. There are people writing and requesting that the "shots" be continued. They cannot be continued without you send us a new copy.

C. J. M., BRIDGEPORT, CT.—Would not like to endorse him. Suppose you try Corregan?

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, BROOKLYN, N. Y.—That clipping on "The failure of Socialism in Australia" is a belated reproduction of a yarn that went through the capitalist press several months ago. It was at the time taken up in these columns and shown to be a roorback. What failed in Australia was not Socialism, but the attempt of governmental pure and simple trades unionism. On the same principle that soldiers feel encouraged when they find out that they are fired upon by blank cartridges, the Socialist feels new spirit when he sees such evidences of the capitalists having no argument against Socialism, and having to forge false facts to fight Socialism with. These capitalist editors lack even the sense of humor. In the same breath that they declare pure and simple trades unionism to be the bulwark against Socialism they bring out the failure of the pure and simple trades unionism theory in Australia. That they call the Australian thing "Socialism" only adds drollery to their contradictory views.

S. F. L., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Too early man! Too early to say. But to judge by appearances, this Presidential campaign promises fair to be run by Labor from top to bottom. Even the capitalist candidates are "Labor" men—there is Teddy, an honorable member of the Locomotive Firemen's Union with the special endorsement of Mitchell. There is Parker (Democratic) a labor man, who is to run on his Labor record as a judge. And there is Hearst—if he is not Labor, who is?

"EAST SIDE," NEW YORK—What it all is about the standing candidate of the "American" Social Democratic party in the Fourth Assembly District, and what the status of the case is? The history may be gathered from the following Letter-Box answers:

The Daily People of last Feb. 21 (Weekly, Feb. 27), had this Letter-Box answer:

"P. L., NEW YORK.—Dr. Halpern, the Social-Democratic party's standing candidate in the Fourth Assembly District is not a citizen and refuses to be one. For that matter, it is doubtful whether a single Social-Democratic candidate in the Jewish East Side is a citizen."

The Daily People of Feb. 28 (Weekly, March 5), had this Letter-Box answer:

"P. B., NEW YORK—We explain how it can be? That would be trespassing upon Dr. Halpern's domain. It is for him to explain. We made a certain statement—if wrong, the duty lies on him to disprove it, by producing his citizen papers. We would then stand corrected and state the source of our information, together with some interesting details therewith connected; if right, let him explain. No talky-talky, or (somebody says) will do. The citizen's papers!"

The Daily People of March 6 (Weekly, March 12), had this Letter-Box answer:

"W. W., NEW YORK—The statement was made point-blank in these columns that the standing candidate of the Socia Democratic party in 4th Assembly District, Dr. Halpern, is not a citizen. When a man, who claims to be a citizen, is declared not to be one, he and his can not shrug their shoulders, and let it go at that. It is in such a man's power, and it is his duty to rectify the statement, if it is incorrect. And in such a case he can do so easily. All he has to do is to produce his citizen papers. But, of course, the person to whom he shows them must be a man who can tell the difference between a charter of naturalization and a promissory note at 45 per cent."

Finally, the Daily People, of March 13 (Weekly, March 19), had the following Letter Box:

"W. W., NEW YORK—There is "The Worker," why does Dr. Halpern not reproduce in it a photographic copy of his citizen papers—if he is a citizen and has the right of the suffrage? What is he afraid of? Can a Social Democrat be afraid?"

That is the history, and we have nothing more to say—for the present.

As to the status, the matter is just now going through a droll episode.

In the first place, the standing candidate is acting as if he were on the verge of delirum tremens in the matter, and yet he says with an affectation of contempt: "Who reads The People?"

In the second place, he calls "a personal attack" a statement made regarding him—a standing candidate of a political party, that claims to be American—on his qualification to run for office. (As yet we have said nothing with regard to whether he voted or not.)

In the third place he declares his character is hurt by the Letter Box answers, and yet he says nobody reads The People.

In the fourth place he goes around in the company of a friend and a satchel. The friend starts the conversation on "the infamous slander of The People," declares the naturalization papers are in that satchel, and grabs it as if to produce the papers out of it, whereupon the worthy Doctor, striking a comedian attitude that he got from the bosom friend of his family, Herman Schleuter, who, in turn, learned it from the comedian, Alexander Jonas, and declares with pathos: "No, I shall not show my citizen papers! I am above that!"

In the fifth place, and finally, when the comedy is performed before the next group, that group is told that the previous group saw the papers.

The Doctor owes The People a debt of gratitude, which he is too ungrateful and too much of a partisan to appreciate. It having been said he was not a citizen, and consequently disqualified to run for office, The People has afforded him an opportunity and showed him the way how to stop "the slanderous rumor."

The experience in the matter is a free education on the law of evidence and on common sense.

P. D., SEATTLE, WASH.—(1) That letter of Marx's to Liebknecht and others was published in The People in full four years ago. (2) How rightly Marx judged you could see from the Review of the Dresden Congress, published in these columns last January. In that review are several of the passages from Marx's letter. They are easily found. They are in quotation marks and expressly stated to be from that letter. The maxims and views therein expressed by Marx hold good to-day.

E. C., NORTH SPRINGFIELD, VT.; Y. A. D., AKRON, O.; C. T. COLUMBUS, O.; T. J. D., SEATTLE, WASH.; D. G. D., WACO, TEX.; W. W., NEW YORK; H. L. H., TRENTON, N. J.; J. C., COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—MATTER RECEIVED.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 361½ Dundas street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting held April 1, with T. Walsh in the chair. Absent, J. Hammer. The financial report showed receipts, $56.60; expenditures, $40.51.

A committee of the 35th A. D. was present to submit some ideas of the A. D. relative to The People, suggesting that The Daily be changed from a morning to an evening paper. The matter was discussed, but no conclusion arrived at, owing to insufficient information on the subject. A representative of the Committee of Fifteen which had been elected at the last Party meeting held in New York City was present, and asked the endorsement of the N. E. C. for a plan to organize an auxiliary body for the purpose of insuring regular support of the Party press. Endorsement was granted.

Communications: From Troy, N. Y., relative to pledges made to secure the Party press. From Section Salt Lake City, Utah, asking for information about Daily and Weekly People, the relative cost of either and other questions on the same subject. From California S. E. C., enclosing matter addressed to Sections in the State on the subject of entering the coming campaign. From East St. Louis Section, a letter pointing out that they are doing all they can for the circulation of the Party press, which is eminently true, because considering the size of the town and the numbers of the Section's membership, East St. Louis stands in the front ranks so far as effective work is concerned. From Columbus, Ohio, a letter complaining against the way the Section has been handling grievances; also containing complaint against the Ohio S. E. C. In so far as local grievances are concerned, the writer is to be informed of the constitutional remedies at his command. In so far as his complaint against the S. E. C. is concerned, it is to be referred to that body, with request for a report. From Buffalo, N. Y., asking for a ruling on the question whether the vote of a member becomes void in case such member has ceased to be in good standing at the time the vote is reported to headquarters, although in good standing within the three months' time limit at the time the vote was cast. The N. E. C. ruled that, once a vote has been cast by a member in good standing at the time of casting such vote, that vote must be counted, and cannot be declared void by any subsequent action of either the Section or the member. Section Buffalo also reported the expulsion of Chas. Gulick, for conduct unbecoming a member and for contempt. From Milwaukee, Wis., upon the work of the campaign, the difficulties encountered, and also upon the success of the Commune celebration held there. From Illinois S. E. C., upon the matter of a general effort to roll up a large subscription list for The Weekly People in the State, wanting to know to what extent the office of The People can assist in lightening this work. From St. Louis, Mo., upon general Party matters.

The canvass of the vote on the question of sending a delegate to the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress, which had been postponed from March 17 to March 31, owing to the fact that a large number of Sections had failed to make report, was then taken up. The result showed that Question No. 1 had received a majority of twenty-five votes, as against Question No. 2. The vote having gone in favor of sending a delegate, the National Secretary was instructed to ascertain which of the nominees for delegate accept the nomination, and then submit to a general vote the matter of electing the delegate; also to have prepared assessment stamps to facilitate the prompt collection of the funds needed to send the delegate, the assessment to be twenty cents per capita.

Adjourned.

Edward C. Schmidt, Rec. Sec'y.

ILLINOIS S. E. C.

Meeting Illinois State Executive Committee, held March 27, Goss elected chairman. P. Veal and Yocum absent with excuse, W. Veal and M. Fennell absent without excuse. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

On motion time for closing vote on convention city was extended to April 10.

Organizer was instructed to further negotiate with The People on the purchasing of prepaid subscription cards.

It was decided at last meeting, but omitted in published minutes to hold State Convention beginning, Sunday, April 17.

Financial Report.

General Fund—Balance on hand March 13, $11.05. Receipts: from Section Chicago, for stamps, $2.60, from Section Belleville, $2.40; from members-at-large, $1.44. No expenses. On hand $17.49.

Agitation Fund — Balance on hand March 13, $30.07. Receipts: Prepaid subscription blanks returned, $5.00. Total, $35.07. No expenses.

G. A. Jenning, Rec. Secy.

CALL OF THE ILLINOIS S. E. C.

To the Sections and Members of the S. L. P. throughout the State of Illinois.

Greeting: At the State Committee meeting February 28th, Section East St. Louis presented a proposition for the S. E. C. to get up a circular letter for the purpose of building up the Party Press. On motion the Section was elected to draft the proposed letter and present same at the next session, to be held on March 13. The Section presented the following:

"East St. Louis, Ill., March 13.

"To the S. E. C., thence to the members throughout the State.

"Comrades: We wish to address a few words to you upon the matter of increasing the circulation of the Socialist Labor Party Press.

"In looking over what has been said and done to this end, we find that the membership has been appealed to, shamed, jollied with prizes, etc. In fact, everything has been done to arouse it to action. Now we realize that something different will have to be done.

"The position of the S. L. P. upon many questions, which but a short time ago was regarded by many workingmen as suicidal, has been vindicated. But the most important question is that of tactics, the one concerning the relation between the political and economic organizations of labor, that will no doubt be given a practical test in this year's campaign. Considering the drubbing given the bogus Socialist party by the A. F. of L. and the present Hearst boom, in which the pure and simple unions are taking part, it is plain to us that whatever the outcome of this mixup of bogus Socialism and pure and simpledom may be, this fact will stick out all over: that it is impossible to build a labor movement upon a foundation of mutual toleration, and that the position of the Socialist Labor Party, i. e., that the political is the main, the economic, the secondary organization of labor, is the correct one.

"The soundness of S. L. P. tactics is becoming recognized not only by the American Socialists, but it is having its effect on the Socialists throughout the world, as evidenced by recent developments in all English speaking countries.

"Now, then, while the S. L. P. of America is becoming the leader of Revolutionary Socialism, let us, the members of that Party, realize the necessity for a larger circulation of its press. However much could be said about the necessity of increasing the circulation, we know from our own experience that it is not lack of desire alone that keeps a subscription list down, but it is a lack of methods. This we consider the most important part of the circulation question.

"East St. Louis has increased its subscription list from about 25 eight months ago to about 200 at present. Yet, as stated above, we were not as desirous to increase our list then as now. This proves that our success is due mainly to methods. Our present methods differ from previous ones, mainly in that we now take subscriptions on credit when necessary. Failure to collect, of course, means a financial loss; the amount of this depends to some extent upon the activity of the collector.

"For the benefit of Sections who may wish to give this plan a trial we stand ready to give our experience. In fact, we would be pleased to see agents for the Party Press open personal correspondence with each other to the end of improving the circulation of the Socialist Labor Party Press.

"Yours Truly for the Cause,
"Section East St. Louis,
"C. A. Johnson, Organizer."

A motion to adopt the above with the following additional was carried:

In connection with the above letter the S. E. C. pledges to purchase from The People 1,000 prepaid subscription cards within six months or sooner, if the money can be raised; put a solicitor in the field as soon as possible and push the Party Press.

Now, Comrades, get up and hustle. Send immediately for as many cards as you can, remitting the money to the S. E. C. Your hearty co-operation is solicited, that we may keep our pledge and help to build up the only press worth anything to the working class.

Yours for Success,
Illinois State Executive Committee,
Will W. Cox, Organizer.

NEW JERSEY SECTIONS OF THE S. L. P.

Take notice, that the vote on the two delegates from this State to the National Convention closes on April 10. The candidates are: George P. Herrschaft, Julius Eck, A. J. Boland, Michael McGarry, Richard Berdan, Frederick Goettgen.

The two candidates receiving the highest number of votes will be the delegates.

The vote must be sent to John Hossack, Secy. State Committee, 36 Pearsall avenue, Jersey Ci

THE DAILY PEOPLE HOME-STRETCH FUND.

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS $4,643, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOME-STRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

Previously acknowledged	$3,850.47
J. Plomondon, City	2.00
A. F. Stone, Callahan, Cal.	1.00
A. Boltz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	50
Section Hoboken, N. J.	10.00
D. S. Law, Centre Barnstead, Mass.	50
A. Beerman, Omaha, Neb.	50
W. Ross, Minneapolis, Minn.	1.00
M. Overby, Minneapolis, Minn.	1.00
C. H. Evans, Celina, Ohio	1.00
H. Nordholt, Hamilton, Ohio	3.00
J. Koeble, Hamilton, Ohio	2.00
T. M. Reedy, Lowell, Mass.	50
W. P. Keim, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
B. Margeson, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
Section Cleveland, O., on account proceeds for masquerade	41.14
Cockroach Mfg. Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	50
Total	$3,962.11

SPECIAL FUND.

(As per Circular Letter of September 3, 1901.)

Previously acknowledged	$8,462.72
J. Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Sec. San Francisco, per Stromquist, collected at meeting, 3-2.	5.35
Charles Ohm, Oliver, Pa.	40
H. Warlett, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
E. Moonelis, City	50
J. Simon, City	50
Sec. Hamilton, Ohio (four loan certificates)	80.00
F. H. Brune, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.05
Miss Frances McDaniel, City	50
Total	$8,554.02

THE WEAVERS' STRIKE.

All money will be acknowledged in The Daily and Weekly People. Send contributions to John J. Kinneally, Gen Sec., S. T. & L. A., 2-6 New Reade street, New York, or Sam J. French, care of Daily People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Amos E. Handy,
, Rec. Sec. L. A. 302, S. T. L. A.,
North Vassalboro, Maine.

Previously acknowledged	$58 85
O. J. Hughes, New York	2 00
L. A. 396, Snowhegan, Me.	13 00
Collected at Commune Celebration—	
L. A. 373, Lawrence, Mass.	5 00
J. J. Plomondon, N. Y.	50
A. Francis, New York	50
J. J. Leahy, New York	50
Hans Carstensen, St. Paul, Minn	25
Frank Carstensen, St. Paul, Minn	25
Samuel Johnson, St. Paul, Minn	50
Daniel S. Law, Center Barnstead, N. H.	25
Total to date	$81 60

GENERAL ORGANIZER'S FUND.

To All District and Local Alliances, Members at Large and Sympathizers of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance Greeting:—

The following amounts have been contributed to date establishing a fund for placing an S. T. & L. A. organizer in the field as soon as possible.

Members and friends are urged to increase the amount collected.

Address all contributions to John J. Kinneally, General Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Previously acknowledged	$148 65
L. A. 373, Lawrence, Mass.	1 35
Collected by L. A. 42, Yonkers, N. Y.—	
Harold Jones	25
R. W. Gaffney	40
J. A. Ormo	35
Edw. McCormick	65
P. W.	05
Simon F.	05
Owen Carraher	30
Peter Jacobson	20
L. A. 140, New York (Weekly Pledges)—	
J. J. Kinneally	20
Chas. Carr	10
J. Leahy	10
L. A. 308, Troy, N. Y. (weekly contributions)	3 75
J. J. Plomondon, N. Y.	50
J. Donahue	50
Total to date	$157 40

BUFFALO LECTURE.

April 10—Attorney Albert H. Jackson, on "Direct Legislation."

At 3.15 p. m., under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genessee street.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF HOBOKEN.

The regular Central Committee meeting of Hoboken will be held on Thursday, April 7, at section headquarters, 163 Fourth street, Hoboken.

Organizer pro tem.

OHIO, ATTENTION!

To All Comrades, Greeting:

Your S. E. C. has asked me to agitate and organize in your State this summer. I shall begin work early in July and continue until about September 15. Anticipation of such fighting as Ohio furnishes makes one grow hot and anxious.

Your State has a population of 1,500,000 residents in towns of over 10,000. One-half of your entire adult male population are wage workers. The position of the State industrially is constantly becoming more important. Coal miners and ironworkers are now the best possible material for our propaganda. Now, what are we going to do in Ohio this year?

The State casts a vote of about 900,000. A large portion of your strength you have been found to expend heretofore in securing 9,000 signatures to your ballot petition. Let us remove this burden and at the same time secure the other benefits of becoming an official party. If the Kangaroos maintain their standing and we do not move ahead there may be danger in store. The State Committee, some other hard workers and your newly-elected agitator are ready to give the enemy all they've got in them. But without constant and enthusiastic support from every one of you, the effort will avail little.

(1) Begin to-morrow morning and talk Socialism as you have never done before. Not frantically, but in a calm, quiet way, to a half-dozen picked men whom you see often. Push the Party press and our literature in their way until they see.

(2) If you can talk to one man at a time in the shop you can talk to fifty at a time on the street. None of us did it before we tried. Read, think over your remarks, and practice on one another. Get out in the crowd as soon as the weather is favorable. Cleveland should have ten open-air meetings a week, Columbus, Cincinnati and Dayton five each. Those who won't talk should be present to encourage their comrades and sell literature. Advertise your meetings in the papers. I wish to come on July 10 and start reaping the harvest which you have sown. Ohio must be made as strong as New York and New England.

What can I say to rouse you to a knowledge of your opportunity and your power? Five hundred thousand workingmen in Ohio are ready for the Socialist Republic. They haven't learned just what it is yet, and what it means to them. It is our work to tell them. Cowards and drones may now be excused. Let the rest of us stand up and be known by what we do.

Yours most fraternally,
Frank Bohn.
Ann Arbor, Mich., March 27.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting General Committee, Massachusetts S. L. P., at Boston, March 27, called to order by the secretary, Michael T. Berry. In the absence of the chairman, W. H. Young, of Boston, was nominated and elected chairman of the session.

Roll call showed Young, Berry, Fitzgerald, Greenman, Englehardt, Sweeney and Neilsen present; Keefe and Dolan absent.

Records of meeting of March 13 read and approved.

Communications: From New Bedford, protesting against the payment of bill sent by General Committee, as the same had been paid, sending one dollar for secretary fund and sixty-five cents on bill. Ordered that General Committee consider the bill paid, and that sixty-five cents paid be refunded Section New Bedford.

Fifteen Daily People loan certificates valued at $300 received, and they were turned over to the secretary for safe keeping.

From Labor News Co., sending terms for "Woman Under Socialism." Ordered that Secretary write the several Sections, asking that they elect some active member to canvass the locality for this work especially, the works of the Labor News Co., and for the Party press generally, and to notify the secretary of this committee of their action.

From J. O'Fihelly, Abington, sending tickets and sub. lists, and information on the Kangs' fiasco in the town elections in Plymouth County. Accepted and filed.

From Weekly People, sending Massachusetts mailing list. Turned over to secretary for action.

From Lawrence, making inquiry on internal Party matters. Attended to by secretary.

From Lowell, returning tickets and sending list of officers. Filed.

Report of secretary accepted and filed.

Bills of Comrade De Leon and Paine Corporation for hall ordered paid.

Adjourned.

Michael T. Berry,
Sec. Mass. S. L. P.
99½ Chestnut street, Lynn, Mass.

TO THE READERS OF "THE PEOPLE" IN SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Section San Antonio, S. L. P., holds open-air agitation meetings every Saturday night, 8 o'clock, on Main Plaza. All live topics of the day are discussed there by a competent speaker from the working class standpoint. Don't fail to attend, and bring some friends or shopmates.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The comrades in quite a number of cities have taken up the work of getting subscribers for the Weekly People with considerable enthusiasm. Three hundred and sixty were secured during the week ending April 2, a gain of forty-nine over the previous week; $96.25 worth of prepaid subscription cards were sold. A majority of the Sections have not as yet made any special effort to get subscribers.

To see the good work that is being done in a few cities like Hartford, Conn., and East St. Louis, Ill., should be enough to set all to work. East St. Louis, with but a handful of comrades, is on deck every week with a long list of new readers and renewals. The number secured by them during the past week is twenty-seven.

Comrade Breuer, of Hartford, repeats his good work of several weeks past, with thirteen more.

Comrade P. J. Barnwell, of Detroit, Mich., sends in a bunch of twenty, over half of which are for one year, and gets a copy of Lissagaray's "History of the Commune."

Comrade Weiss, of Brooklyn, secured twelve more. We hear from him every week.

Comrade Leitner, of San Antonio, sends in six subs. and writes: "I don't know whether I will be able to carry out my plan, but I am going to try hard to get one sub. a day, and will endeavor to enthuse the other comrades to do something in that line. I realize and found out it is hard work, but the greater the resistance the greater ought to be the force to overcome same."

Five or more subscriptions were sent in as follows: 34th A. D., New York, 21; 12th A. D., Brooklyn, 15; S. R. Rager, Braddock, Pa., 10; F. Leshner, Hartford, Conn., 10; Oscar Freer, Columbus, Ohio 9; Section St. Louis Mo., 9; A. McGinnis, South Chicago, Ill., 7; J. B. Ferguson, Tuolumne, Cal., 7; P. Friesema, Jr., Detroit, Mich., 6; John Farrell Lowell Mass. 6; A. Scheftel, Brooklyn, 5; John Donohue, New York City, 5; J. B. Dillon, Marion, Ind., 5; R. Berdan, Paterson N. J., 5; C. Schmidt, New Haven, Conn. 5.

One comrade puts two-cent stamps on post cards. One cent is sufficient. If you have several to send at one time put them in an envelope and place a two-cent stamp on the envelope.

Another comrade complains that Party press circulars do not show as many subs. as have been sent in from his city, that subscriptions have been sent in from his city for persons living in other places, which the reports do not include. The circulars are made up every two months from the figures shown by the mailing list, where the names of subscribers are placed after being classified by this department according to cities. It would be an impossible task for us, with our small clerical force, to give the figures by any other method.

Labor News Department

Last week an order for $44 worth of our pamphlets and books were sent to Glasgow, Scotland, to the literary agent of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain. The British workingmen seem to appreciate sound Socialist literature, after having been doped for years with the milk-and-water variety.

Comrade Ruther of Holyoke, Mass, sent for twenty-five more copies of "Woman Under Socialism" last week, showing that the first order of forty is exhausted and he is still canvassing. Other comrades in other localities would find upon trial that the book is a rapid and easy seller if they would get out and hustle like Comrade Ruther.

New Labor Library leaflets issued by the Labor News is "Arbitration as a Solution of the Labor Problem" and "The Trouble in the Litho Industry." Comrades in localities where there are lithographers' union should get a bundle of the latter leaflets and distribute them to the members of the union. The leaflet of "Arbitration" is also a valuable one for distribution these days of attempts to establish "safe" relations between capitalist and workingmen. 15 cents per hundred. $1.25 per thousand. "The Pilgrim's Shell" is completed in this number, and next week will begin the first installment of "Franz von Sickingin" an historical drama by Ferdinand Lasalle.

"The Pilgrim's Shell" will be published in book form by the 1st of May. Advance orders should be sent in at once, in order that we should be able to decide as soon as possible on the number of books to be published. Price 75 cents.

MARION, IND., CITY TICKET.

Section Marion (Ind.) S. L. P. has nominated the following ticket to be voted for at the spring election: For Mayor, Matthew Loven; City Clerk, Fred. Hotz; for Council in Fourth Ward, Mikel Duttine, Geo. Risser. The platform we have adopted is the municipal platform of the Socialist Labor Party.

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The Weekly People 2 to 6 New Reade St., NEW YORK CITY.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

(Continued on page four.)

ing the people apart. Now, my man, that's all there is about it. You are misaddressing your sighs.

B. J.—But how long will it take to unite?

U. S.—Oh, that's another question. Admitting, as you must do, that the workingmen cannot unite on an error, and that the only union possible is on the right principles and tactics, then you must admit that the conduct of the Socialist Labor Party is the correct one. It is the only unifier possible. If it doesn't bring unity about, nothing else will.

B. J. (sighing)—Well, that may be; but all this fighting——

U. S.—It is necessary. The issue is a life and death issue. The scatterers must be opposed; they must be fought; in proportion to their obstinacy and perversity they must be fought all the harder. They will howl, yes; we shall have to be severer than we would wish, yes; but never forget that it is the height of silliness to want your pound of meat and yet recoil before the drop of blood that the cutting produces incidentally. He who earnestly wants a thing must want it despite accessories.

ATTENTION, ST. LOUIS!

Mrs. Olive M. Johnson will speak at Fraternal Building, Eleventh and Franklin avenue, Sunday, April 10, 2.30 p. m.

Subject, "Why Workingmen and Women Should join the Socialist Labor Party."

Members of the working class are especially invited to attend this lecture.

Admission free.

CONNOLLY IN WATERVLIET, N. Y.

A lecture of special interest to the working class will be delivered by James Connolly, of Ireland, late editor of the "Irish Workers' Republic," of Dublin, Ireland, held under the auspices of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Local 351, of Albany County, Thursday evening, April 14, at 8 o'clock, at G. A. R. Hall, Watervliet. Subject, "The Unfulfilled Mission of the Trade Unions." Admission, 10 cents.

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S. L. P. ON TOP.

Bogus Socialist Nomination Papers Thrown Out at St. Paul, Minn.

St. Paul, Minn., April 4.—City Attorney Michael has reversed himself with a new ruling on the rights of the "Socialist" and Socialist Labor parties.

His latest ruling is that the Socialist Labor Party is entitled to recognition and may file their candidates for city offices.

The "Socialists" are deposed and must choose some different name if they care to present petitions nominating candidates. The petitions they have already handed in must be rejected.

Michael explained that he had been misled, his attention not having been called to an order of the supreme court, in 1902, throwing out the "Socialists". This order was ignored by the Secretary of State and the court could not compel him, as an executive officer, to obey. On the other hand, the city officials have no such high rank and must obey the supreme court's mandate.

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